A Longford

The most excellent Princesse Mary queene of Scotland and Dowager of France Mother to our Soueraigne lord James of greate Brittaine France & Ireland King

R: B: Sculpsit

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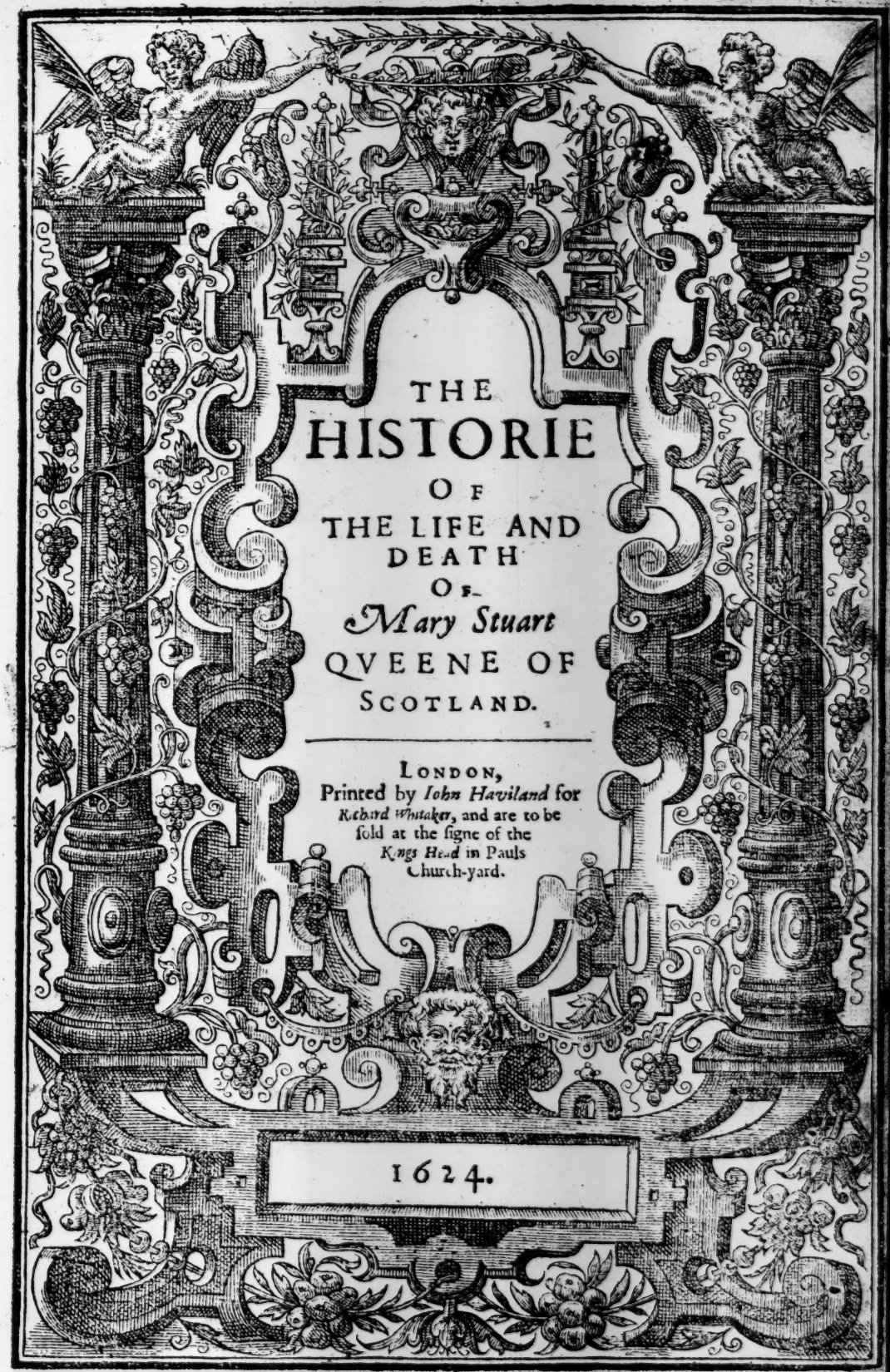

THE HISTORIE OF THE LIFE AND DEATH OF *Mary Stuart* QVEENE OF SCOTLAND.

LONDON,
Printed by *Iohn Haviland* for *Richard Whitaker*, and are to be sold at the signe of the *Kings Head* in Pauls Church-yard.

1624.

TO THE KINGS MOST EXCELLENT MAIESTIE.

Moſt Dread Soueraigne,

ENO *the Philoſopher, being asked how a man might attaine wiſdome, anſwered, By drawing neere vnto the dead. O the Sepulchers of our Anceſtors, how much more doe they teach than all the ſtudie, bookes and precepts of the learned!*

And herein due praiſe muſt needs be aſcribed vnto Hiſtorie, the life of memorie, and the mirrour of mans life, making thoſe Heroick acts to liue againe, which otherwiſe would be buried in eternall forgetfulneſſe, whereby the minde (a greedy hunter after knowledge) is enflamed, by affecting the ſeuerall perfections of others, to ſeeke after excellent things, and by feruent imitation to attaine to that glory which is gotten by vertue.

For these causes, (most renowned Soueraigne) when I considered Plutarke, *laying aside the studie of Philosophie, to thinke the time well imploied in writing the liues of* Theseus, *of* Aristides, *and of other inferiour persons; and knowing how farre the lustre and splendor of Princes shineth beyond the brightnesse of others; euery one standing for a million of the common people: And being sensible that it is infused euen by nature, euery man to desire, and to be delighted with the relation and story of his owne Ancestors and predecessors:*

For these reasons I presumed to present vnto your Highnesse this Treatise of the life and death of your Royall Mother, the Lady MARY STVART *Queene of* Scotland; *A History most fit for this your* Meridian *of* Great Britaine, *and yet neuer published in the English tongue before: Wherein, although I confesse the slendernesse of my skill in the exornation and beautifying of the stile, and thereby may worthily incurre the reproofe of the learned; yet if your Maiesty vouchsafe your gracious and Princely acceptation, all faults therein shall easily bee couered and blotted out. Therefore I become your humble Orator, praying no other thing than the Sunne Diall of the Sunne,* Aspice me vt aspiciar: *most humbly beseeching the Almighty to blesse your most Excellent Maiestie, with a long, happie, and prosperous reigne.*

Your Sacred Maiesties

most humble subiect,

W. VDALL.

THE PREFACE TO THE ENSVING HISTORIE.

IT is a thing moſt true, and ſome finde it by experience, that here below in this world, there is nothing eternall: And how can it be otherwiſe, when the great Kings and Princes of the earth, who ſeeme to be created of the moſt pure ſubſtance of the Elements, of a matter, as may bee ſaid, for their excellency incorruptible, of the fine gold of *Euilath*, and of the beſt mould, to the patterne of the faireſt *Ideas*, and beare and carry the Image and Seale of all puiſſance, as the chiefe impreſſion of natures worke, in the plaine greatneſſe of Maieſtie, which engraueth their forehead with a gracious ſtatelineſſe. Yet doe we ſee them euery day, who ſeeme vnto men to be laſting and durable, as eternity it ſelfe, to quit the arches of triumph, and to yeeld themſelues vnto the triumph of death.

death. And more than that, the moſt part of them finiſh their daies, not in the ſweet and calme waters, like *Pourcontrells*, but by a death diſſeaſoned, ſometimes in their greene youth, and flouriſhing age, by the ſtormes and tempeſts, as doe the *Dolphins*, within the torrents, billowes, or waues of the ſea, toſſed by diuers factions. And it ſeemeth that this fatality purſueth ordinarily the moſt worthy and vertuous perſons: ſo that they finiſh their liues many times with violence or precipitation; and not to goe vnto their death in a ſmooth path, but to bee interrupted with ſome ſtrange accident, which eclipſeth the bright ſhining luſtre of their greatneſſe, which daſell the mindes of men, that from below beheld them ſitting aloft on the throne of Maieſtie. All which appeared moſt plainly and euidently to be true in the moſt worthy and royall Princeſſe MARY STVART Queene of *Scotland*, who in all her life being toſſed and turmoiled with infinite misfortunes, concluded it with an vntimely death, as followeth in the ſequell of this Hiſtorie of her life and death.

MARY STVART Queene of *Scotland*, was daughter vnto *Iames* the fift, King of *Scotland*, a wiſe and valiant Prince, and of the Lady MARY, of the Illuſtrious family of the Dukes of *Lorraine*, (whoſe fame for valour is renowned thorow all Chriſtendome,) was borne on the eighth day of December in the yeere of our Lord 1541. She was not aboue eight daies old when her father died: being left thus young, the Noblemen of *Scotland* being diuided (whereof the family of the *Hamiltons* and the Earle of *Lynnox* being the heads,) the one ſide ſupported by King *Henry* the eighth of *England*, and the other by the French King *Henry* the ſecond; ſhe was by the care of her mother who inclined vnto the

French

French King, at the age of ſix yeeres or thereabouts, ſent into *France* in the Gallies of *Villagagnon* a Knight of the *Rhodes* appointed by the *French* King vnto this ſeruice, in the which voyage by the Weſt Seas (for in the other paſſage neere the Straits of *Calice*, the *Engliſhmen* had laid a ſtrong Nauy to intercept her) ſhe hardly eſcaped drowning by meanes of a ſtorme or tempeſt that happened, neere vnto the coaſt of little *Brittaine* in *France*, where ſhe afterward tooke land, from whence ſhe was conueyed vnto the Court of *France*, where ſhe was brought vp vnder her Curators the *French* King and the Dukes of *Guiſe*, and by their exquiſite care ſhe drew in with the aire the ſweetneſſe of the humours of the countrey, and in the end by the ſingular grace of nature, and carefulneſſe of her friends and Kinsfolks, became with her age the faireſt and goodlieſt Princeſſe of our time. And beſide this her rare beauty, ſhe had her vnderſtanding and intendment ſo pure and perfect, her iudgement ſo certaine, ſurmounting, and aboue the condition of her age and ſex, that it bred and cauſed in her a greatneſſe of courage, which was yet mixt and qualified with ſuch ſweetneſſe and modeſty, that you could not ſee any thing more Royall, any thing more gracious. Her manners and priuate actions were ſuch, and were ſo well liked of generally, that it cauſed King *Henry* the ſecond of *France*, and his Queene (who was admired for her prudence) to marry their eldeſt ſonne, *Daulphin* of *France* and heire of their Crowne, vnto this Lady, as vnto one well deſeruing to be ioyned in mariage vnto their ſonne, heire apparant of the greateſt kingdome in *Europe*: And ſo vpon the foure and twentieth day of *April*, in the yeere of our Lord 1558. *Francis* the *Daulphin* of *France* and MARY STVART Queene of *Scotland*, were maried in the Church

of

of *Noſtra Dama* in *Paris*. One cannot declare with what applauſe of all the people, with what congratulation of all the neighbour Princes, with what Magnificence, this mariage was ſolemnized. By this her mariage her husband obtained not onely the Title of King of *Scotland* in the right of his wife, but alſo another more rich and great, which was, of the moſt contented Prince the earth then beheld, for that hee was ioyned in mariage with a Princeſſe who beſides many other great vertues compoſed her ſelfe wholly to pleaſe and to giue content vnto her husband, and therein vſed not the ordinary care of a Princeſſe, but more trauell and ſollicitude than doe the women of meane condition and qualitie maried vnto great Princes, as alſo appeared after his death (which befell not long after) by her immeaſurable mourning, not being able to finde any conſolation for her ſorrow in that place where ſhee had loſt that which ſhee had loued better than her ſelfe, ſo much that the amitie of her kinsfolks and allies could not retaine her, nor the ſorrow and regret of all *France* could not call her backe, nor the ſweetneſſe of that Court which inuited her could not ſtay her, but that ſhee would depart from thence.

After this on the ſeuenteenth day of *Nouember* the ſame yeere deceaſed *Mary* of *England*; at which time the Parlament was holden at *Weſtminſter*, being certified of her death, with a vniuerſall conſent, in regard of her moſt certaine right vnto the Crowne of *England* (of the which none could doubt,) both the Prelates and Nobles with the Commons agreed to haue the Lady ELIZABETH proclaimed Queene, which was done with the generall applauſe and conſent of them and all the people.

Queene ELIZABETH being eſtabliſhed and hauing

uing taken order for things at home, and domeſticall affaires, applied her minde next to ſettle her affaires abroad: For which end it was thought fit to ſend Embaſſadors vnto Princes to ſignifie vnto them the death of Queene MARY, and her ſucceſſion vnto the kingdome: Vnto *Ferdinand* the Emperor was ſent *Thomas Challenor* with letters, wherein the Queene, vnder her owne hand, certified him that her ſiſter Queene MARY was dead, and that ſhe by the goodneſſe of God was ſucceeded as her rightfull heire, and with the generall conſent of her ſubiects, in the gouernment of the Realme; and that ſhe deſired nothing more, than that the ancient League and amitie betweene the families of *England* and *Auſtria*, might not only be conſerued but alſo increaſed. Vnto the King of *Spaine*, being in his Low countries, was ſent the Lord *Cobham* with inſtructions to the ſame purpoſe.

King *Philip* vnderſtanding the deceaſe of Queene MARIE his wife, fearing leſt *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, ſhould be adioyned vnto *France* by meanes of the Queene of *Scotland* her Title, delt ſeriouſly with Queene ELIZABETH by the *Conde* of *Feria*, whom he had ſent before to viſit his ſicke wife, and the then Lady ELIZABETH alſo, about his mariage with her, promiſing to procure a diſpenſation for the ſame. This motion troubled her much, for to reiect the moſt mightie King of *Europe* (hauing deſerued well of her) and ſuing to her for mariage vpon his owne motion: This thing no leſſe diſquieted the *French* King, who was alſo fearefull that *England* and *Spaine* ſhould bee conioyned againe in one by mariage; therefore hee did all that was poſſible to be done at *Rome*, by the Biſhop of *Angueſme*, that no ſuch diſpenſation ſhould be granted, but yet very ſecretly, leſt he ſhould prouoke the *Engliſhmen* againſt him: but ſhe put him off with a modeſt

modeſt and ſhamefaſt anſwer. And when hee ſaw that he could not obtaine his ſuit for himſelfe, and had alſo giuen it quite ouer, being agreed with the *French* King to marry his daughter, yet that the kingdome of *England* might be retained in his family ſtill, he moued the Emperour *Ferdinand* to commend one of his ſonnes to be a ſuiter vnto Queene ELIZABETH, which motion he willingly entertained, and for that purpoſe ſent vnto her very louing letters, and by *Gaſpar Preynerus*, free Baron in *Stibing*, diligently followed and proſecuted the ſame, the King of *Spaine* himſelfe alſo, to bring it the ſooner to paſſe, and to further it, moſt courteouſly offering and promiſing vnto Queene ELIZABETH his ſingular loue, kindneſſe and affection.

THE LIFE, DEATH, AND VARIABLE fortunes of the moſt gracious Queene, MARIE STEVVARD Queene of *Scotland*.

Anno 1559.

THe *French* King, *Henrie* the ſecond, for the benefit of his ſonne the *Dolphin* King, and MARIE Queene of *Scots* (caſting his eies vpon *England*) did not withdraw his *French* Souldiers out of *Scotland*, as hee had promiſed, but ſent ſecretly more daily into *Scotland*, and dealt vehemently with the Pope, to pronounce Queene *Elizabeth* an Heretike, and illegitimate, which the Emperor and the King of *Spaine*, moſt diligently, but couertly, ſought to hinder: yet had the *Guiſes* drawne the *French* King into ſuch a ſweet hope of adioyning *England* vnto the

Crowne of *France*, by the title of their Niece the Queene of *Scots*, that hee openly claimed the ſame in the right of his ſonne and daughter in law: And commanded them, when hee could not obtaine his purpoſe at *Rome*, to vſe this title in all their Letters patents; FRANCIS and MARIE by the grace of God, of *Scotland*, *England*, and *Ireland*, King and Queene, and cauſed the armes of *England*, together with the armes of *Scotland*, to be painted in the walls, buildings, and in the houſhold ſtuffe: and alſo to be put into the Heralds coats. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador in vaine complained, that herein great wrong was done vnto Queene *Elizabeth*, with whom he had made lately a league, and had not done this to Queene MARIE of *England*, who had proclaimed warre againſt him. But *Henries* ſudden death, which happened ſhortly after, made an end of his attempts.

But *Francis* the ſecond (who ſucceeded him) and MARIE Queene of *Scots* his wife (by the counſell of the *Guiſes*, who were then of great authoritie in *France*) bore themſelues openly as Kings of *England* and *Ireland*, neither did they abſtaine from claiming the armes, but ſet them out more and more. And vnto *Nicholas Throgmorton* the Lieger Embaſſador, a man both wiſe and ſtout, it was firſt anſwered: That it was lawfull for the Queene of *Scots* to beare them with ſome little difference, to ſhew the neareneſſe of her bloud vnto the royall line of *England*. Hee ſtifly denied it, ſaying that by the Law of Armes, none who was not begot of the certaine Heire, might beare the armes of any familie. Afterward they ſaid they bore the armes for no other cauſe, than to cauſe the Queene of *England* to abſtaine from bearing the armes of *France*. Yet at length he obtained at the interceſſion of *Mont Morancy*, who loued not the *Guiſes*, that they left off the armes of

of *England* and *Ireland* altogether. But yet from this title and vſurpation of armes, which *Henrie* made the young Queene of *Scots* to take on her (moued thereto by the *Guiſes*) proceeded all the euils, which came ſo thicke vpon her afterward, as from the originall cauſe. For from hence Queene *Elizabeth* was an open and profeſſed enemie to the *Guiſes*, and bare a ſecret hate againſt her, which the craftie malice of men did ſo nouriſh, the emulation increaſing betweene them, and new occaſions ariſing daily, that they could not be extinguiſhed, but with her death.

Anno 1560.

THen followed the Treatie of *Edenburgh*, wherein amongſt many other things, it was agreed, that the King of *France* and Queene MARIE ſhould leaue off the bearing of the title and armes of *England* and *Ireland*: but when the time of confirming the ſame came, and Queene *Elizabeth* ſent into *France* to haue it ratified (as ſhee had done) *Throgmorton* the Leiger Embaſſador could not bring them to doe it by any meanes; and whileſt the matters hung in ſuſpence, and reſted vndetermined, *Francis* the ſecond, King of *France*, not being eighteene yeere old, and in the ſecond yeere of his reigne, deceaſed, and left the Queene of *Scots* a widow, whether to the greater griefe of the Romaniſts, or ioy of the *Proteſtants* in *Britaine*, I cannot ſay.

Anno 1561.

FRANCIS Earle of *Bedford*, was ſent into *France*, to deplore the death of King *Francis*, and to gratulate *Charles* the ninth, his ſucceſſor, and by himſelfe, and together with *Throgmorton* the ordinarie Embaſſador, he importuned the Queene of *Scots* to confirme the treatie of *Edenburgh*, but in vaine, for ſhe anſwered no other thing, but that ſhee could not, nor would not determine on ſo great a matter, without the conſent of the Nobilitie of *Scotland*.

The Queene of *Scots* entending to returne into *Scotland*, ſent *Monſieur d'Oyſell* to requeſt a ſafe conduct of Queene *Elizabeth* for to paſſe by Sea, and for *d'Oyſell*, to paſſe thorow *England*. Queene *Elizabeth* before a great multitude of people, denied both the one, and the other, for this cauſe, ſhe ſaid that ſhe had not ratified the treatie of *Edenburgh*, which if ſhe did, ſhee promiſed to ſhew all kindneſſe that might bee expected from a Queene, from a Couſin, and from a neighbour. The Queene of *Scots* being vexed at this repulſe, ſent for *Throgmorton*, with whom ſhee had long ſpeeches about this matter, which I will briefly ſet downe out of the letters of *Throgmorton*, (though I ſhal make rehearſal of ſome things already ſaid) that the originall and progreſſe of the priuie malice which was betweene the greateſt and wiſeſt Princeſſes of our time or age, may more euidently appeare. Shee ſending all the ſtanders by away, ſaid thus to *Throgmorton*: What is my womanly weakneſſe, and how farre the paſſion of my minde may carrie me, I know not, yet it liketh me not to haue ſo many witneſſes of my weakneſſe, as your Ladie lately had when ſhee talked with *Monſieur d'Oyſell* my Embaſ-

Embaſſador: nothing grieueth me ſo much as that I did aske thoſe things which were not needfull: by Gods fauour I can returne into my Countrie, without asking her leaue, as I came hither in deſpight of her brother *Edward*. Neither want I friends which can and will bring me home, as they brought me hither; but I had rather haue vſed her friendſhip, than of any other. I haue often heard you ſay, that the amitie betweene her and mee was neceſſary to both our Kingdomes, yet it ſeemeth that ſhee thinketh otherwiſe, or elſe ſhe had not giuen mee the repulſe in ſo ſmall a matter: but perhaps ſhee beareth more fauour vnto the *Scots*, which rebell againſt me, than to me the Queene of *Scots*, equall to her in princely royaltie, her neareſt kinſwoman, and moſt certaine heire vnto her. Doeſt thou thinke that that good will and loue can be betweene my rebellious ſubiects and her, that may bee betweene her and me? What? Doth ſhee thinke that I ſhall bee deſtitute of friends? Aſſuredly ſhe hath driuen mee to aske helpe of them of whom I would not willingly. And they cannot wonder enough for what purpoſe ſhee gaue aid lately vnto my ſubiects, and now to hinder the returne of mee a widow vnto my ſubiects. I aske nothing of her but amitie, I procure no trouble vnto her, nor meddle not with the affaires of *England*. But yet I am not ignorant that there bee many in *England* who are not content with the eſtate as it is now. Shee twitteth me, and ſaith, that I haue ſmall experience; I confeſſe it: Age bringeth experience with it; yet I am ſo old, that I can behaue my ſelfe friendly, kindly, and iuſtly toward my kinsfolks and friends, and keepe my tongue from ſpeaking any thing, not beſeeming a Queene and a kinſwoman. But by her leaue, I may ſay, that as well as ſhee I am a Queene, neither deſtitute of friends, and to beare no leſſe high minde than ſhee, and it may beſeeme

ſeeme vs to meaſure our ſelues with a certaine equalitie: but I forbeare compariſon, which is little better than contention, and wanteth not euill will. As for the treatie of *Edenburgh*, it was made in the life of the King my husband, whom it was my dutie to obey in all things, and ſince that hee delaied the confirmation of the ſame, let the blame remaine in him, and not in me.

After his death, the Counſellors of *France* left me to mine owne Counſellors, neither would mine Vncles meddle with the affaires of *Scotland*, becauſe they would not offend Queene *Elizabeth*, nor the *Scots*. The *Scots* that be with me be priuate men, nor ſuch fit men that I ſhould aske counſell of them in ſuch great matters. As ſoone as I ſhall haue the aduice of the Eſtates of my Realme, I will make a reaſonable anſwer; and I will make all the haſte I can home, to giue it the ſooner. But ſhee determineth to ſtop my way, leſt I ſhould giue it, ſo ſhee is the cauſe that I cannot ſatisfie her; or elſe ſhee would not bee ſatisfied perhaps, for the intent that there may bee no end of diſcord betweene vs. Shee caſteth often in my teeth, that I am a young girle, as a reproach, and truly ſhe may iuſtly thinke mee an vnwiſe girle if I dealt in theſe weightie affaires, without the aduice of the Eſtates. A wife is not bound, as I haue heard, with the deeds of her husband, neither in her honour, nor in conſcience: but I doe not diſpute this thing, yet I may ſay this thing truly; I haue done nothing to my deareſt ſiſter, which I would not haue done to my ſelfe; I haue vſed all offices of courteſie and kindred, but ſhee either beleeueth not, or contemneth them: I would to God I were ſo deare to her as I am neare of bloud, for this were a pretious kinde of kindred. God forgiue them that ſow the ſeeds of diſſention betweene vs (if there bee any ſuch.) But thou who art an Embaſſador, tell mee in good ſooth,

for

for what cauſe ſhe is ſo diſpleaſed with me, who neuer hurt her hitherto either in word or deed.

To theſe ſpeeches *Throgmorton* made anſwer: I haue no commiſſion to anſwer you, but to heare what your anſwer is, about the confirmation of the treatie of *Edenburgh*. But if it pleaſe you to heare the cauſe of diſpleaſure, I will lay it downe in few words (laying aſide the perſon of an Embaſſadour.) As ſoone as the Queene my Ladie and Miſtreſſe was crowned, you did vſurpe the title and armes of *England*, which you did not take in the reigne of Queene MARIE; Iudge you in your diſcretion if a greater wrong can bee offered vnto a Prince: Such iniuries as this, priuate men cannot diſgeſt, much leſſe Princes.

But, ſaid ſhe, my husbands father, and my husband himſelfe would haue it done, and commanded it to bee ſo. After their deceaſe, when I was at mine owne hand, I left off wholly both thoſe armes, and the title, but yet I know not how it can be any wrong to the Queene, if I alſo a Queene, whoſe Grand-mother was eldeſt ſiſter vnto *Henry* the eight, doe beare theſe armes, ſince others farther off than I bore them: I am ſure, *Courtney* Marqueſſe of *Exceter*, and the Ducheſſe of *Suffolke*, Niece vnto *Henry* the eight, by his younger ſiſter, did beare the armes of *England*, with borders for a difference, by a ſpeciall fauour.

When theſe things did not ſatisfie Queene *Elizabeth*, who was fully perſwaded that ſhee put in delaies ſtill vpon ſome more hopes, ſince ſhe had not propoſed vnto the Eſtates of *Scotland*, who had once or twice aſſembled ſince her husbands death, any thing about the confirmation of the treatie; She being vpon her way, ſent for *Throgmorton* againe vnto *Abbeuille*, where ſhee courteouſly asked him, how ſhe might ſatisfie Queene *Elizabeth* in word or deed; he ſaid, by ratifying the treatie of

of *Edenburgh* (as I haue often ſaid) vnto whom ſhee ſaid: Now heare and iudge, if there bee not moſt iuſt reaſons, which ſhe calleth delaies and vaine excuſes: The firſt Article in it, of ratifying the treatie of *Chaſteau Cambreſy*, betweene *England* and *France*, pertaineth nothing vnto me. The ſecond, of ratifying the treaty betweene *England* and *Scotland*, was ratified by my husband and mee; neither can it bee ratified againe, when my husband is expreſſedly named in it. The Articles 3, 4, and 5. are already performed, for the preparations for warre are ceaſed. The *French* Souldiers are called backe out of *Scotland*, and the Fortreſſe of *Aymouth* is demoliſhed, I haue not borne nor vſed the title nor armes of *England* ſince my husbands death. It is not in my power to put them out of the houſhold ſtuffe, buildings, and Letters patents through *France*, as it is not in my power to ſend into *England* the Biſhop of *Valence*, and *Randan*, who are not my ſubiects, to diſpute about the ſixth Article: And for the laſt Article, I hope my ſeditious ſubiects ſhall not haue cauſe to complaine of my ſeueritie. But as I perceiue, ſhe will preuent me by ſtopping my returne, that they ſhall not haue triall of my clemencie: what remaineth now in this treatie, which may be wrong to the Queene? Yet that I may giue her ſatisfaction more abundantly, I will write larger Letters of this buſineſſe with mine owne hand, though ſhee doth not vouchſafe to write backe vnto me, but by her Secretarie: But I pray you my Lord Embaſſador, doe the part of an Embaſſador, that is, rather mollifie than exaſperate the matter.

But yet Queene *Elizabeth* was not ſatisfied with theſe letters, in whoſe minde the iniurie for the vſing of the armes and title of *England* was deeply imprinted, and ſtill ſhee was afraid, leſt ſhee ſhould challenge them againe, if ſhee were not bound and tied thereto by the con-

confirmation of the treatie and the religion of an oath.

In the meane while the Q. of *Scotland* getting a good gale of wind, departed from *Calice*, and in a foggie miſt paſſing by the *Engliſh* ſhips, which ſome thought were ſent to Sea to conuey her with honour; others, to ſuppreſſe Pirates, and as others ſaid, to intercept and take her, arriued ſafe in *Scotland*: For *Iames* the Baſtard very lately returning by *England*, had ſecretly willed Queene *Elizabeth* to take her by the way, if ſhe had a deſire to prouide for Religion, and her owne ſecuritie. And *Lidington* being glad that *d'Oyſell* was detained in *England*, perſwaded it alſo. Shee being returned into *Scotland*, vſed her ſubiects with all courteſie, changed not their religion (though it had beene brought in by tumults) and beganne to ſettle the common wealth by enacting good Lawes: But vnto Queene *Elizabeth* ſhee ſent *Lidington* with her owne, and the letters of the *Scottiſh* Nobilitie, in the which ſhee promiſed all care to make and conſerue amitie with her; and requeſted that a certaine forme of peace might bee made betweene *England* and *Scotland*, and that there was none more certaine, than if Queene *Elizabeth* (if ſhee ſhould haue no iſſue) would declare her by the authoritie of Parliament, the next heire to ſucceed her in the Realme of *England*.

This thing ſeemed ſtrange vnto Queene *Elizabeth*, who looked for the confirmation of the treatie of *Edenburgh*, promiſed by word, and by her hand writing: yet ſhe anſwered; *As concerning the ſucceßion, ſhee hoped the Queene of* Scotland *would not by violence take her Crowne away from her and her children, if ſhe had any: ſhee promiſed not to derogate any thing of her right vnto the Crowne of* England, *although ſhe had claimed the title and armes of* England, *through the too much haſtie ambition of other men, for which iniurie it was meet that*

ſhe made ſatisfaction. By ſetting downe her ſucceſſor, ſhee feared leſt their friendſhip ſhould bee rather diſſeuered than conſolidated, for that vnto men eſtabliſhed in gouernment, their ſucceſſors are alwaies ſuſpected and hated: the people, ſuch is their inconſtancie vpon a diſlike of preſent things, doe looke after the riſing Sunne, and forſake the Sunne ſetting; and the ſucceſſors deſigned cannot keepe within the bounds of Iuſtice and truth, their owne hopes and other mens lewd deſires: Moreouer, if ſhe ſhould confirme the ſucceſſion vnto her, ſhee ſhould thereby cut off the hope of her owne ſecuritie, and being aliue, hang her winding-ſheet before her owne eies, yea, make her owne funerall feaſt aliue, and ſee the ſame.

After ſhee had anſwered theſe things thus, ſhee did againe, ſending her letters vnto her by *Peter Mewtas*, mildly will her to confirme the treatie. Neither did the other directly denie it, but inſinuated, that ſhee could not doe it, vntill ſhee had ſet the affaires of *Scotland* in good order.

Anno 1562.

Margaret Counteſſe of *Lynnox*, Niece to King *Henry* the eight by his eldeſt ſiſter, was deliuered as priſoner to *Richard Sackuill*, and her husband the Earle of *Lennox* was aſſigned vnto the Maſter of the Rolls in the like manner, for that hee had ſecret intelligence by letters, with the Queene of *Scots*, in which cuſtodie both of them were kept a good ſpace.

Not long after, *Henry Sidney* was ſent vnto the Queene of *Scots*, whoſe meſſage was, that the enteruiew which he had deſired to haue with Queene *Elizabeth* might

might bee put off vnto the next yeere, or vntill the *French* warres were waxen colder.

At this time it was conſulted, whether it was for any good purpoſe, that theſe two Princeſſes ſhould come vnto an enteruiew or conference: For, that the Queene of *Scotland* required it, breda ſuſpition, that ſhe did it for ſome commoditie or benefit, and to eſpie ſome aduantage, either to ſtrengthen her right in *England*, or elſe to giue a hope, and erect the minds of the Papiſts in *England*, and her Couſens the *Guiſes* in *France*. On the other ſide, others thought hereby a moſt firme amitie might bee concluded betweene them, the league betweene the *French* and the *Scots* weakened by little and little, and the Queene of *Scots* wonne by faire words vnto the Religion of the Proteſtants. Others noted, that out of ſuch enteruiewes or conferences, grew the ſeeds rather of emulation, than of loue, when one ſhould hate and repine at the oſtentation of the others brauerie, wealth and power, and for that many times the preſence and view is not anſwerable vnto report and opinion; and ſo of the comelineſſe of the body, of the beautie of the face, and of the gifts of the minde: And that one might haue cauſe and occaſion to finde fault with the other. Neither did the Queene of *Scotland* thinke it ſafe to deliuer her ſelfe into the hands of Queene *Elizabeth*, with whom ſhe had contended for the right of the Kingdome: It made her to ſtagger, and to doubt in the matter, and alſo to which ſide to incline and ſway, when ſhee heard that Queene *Elizabeth* ſtood openly for the Proteſtants in *France*: whileſt ſhe conſidered (as ſhee wrote her ſelfe) that ſhee came by her father from the *Engliſh* bloud, and by her mother from the *French*, that ſhee was crowned Queene, and Dowager of *France*, and the moſt rightful Heire of *England*, and withall expected

the Kingdome thereof: That ſhee was much indebted vnto her Vncles in *France*, which had brought her vp, and that ſhee much deſired the loue of Queene *Elizabeth*.

Yet ſhe feared, ſuch was her piercing vnderſtanding, leſt if ſhee ioined her ſelfe with her in a very ſtrict kinde of amitie, ſhe might procure the euill will of the *French* King, be abandoned by her Vncles, and loſe her dowrie out of *France*, by preferring the vncertaine friendſhip of Queene *Elizabeth* (which, to vſe her owne words, paſſed not beyond the perſon) before the certaine loue of the *French*. Hereupon the conference (which had beene treated of many moneths, and the Articles alſo drawne) came to nothing, eſpecially when ſhee by her letters did vtterly refuſe to come vnto the enteruiew, except ſhe might be deſigned heire apparant of *England* by authoritie of Parliament, or elſe bee adopted by Queene *Elizabeth* to be her daughter, to lay a foundation of a moſt certaine peace and vnion of both the Realmes, ſo often deſired. If theſe things were granted, ſhe promiſed to addict her ſelfe wholly to Queene *Elizabeth*, yea, and not to reſpect and regard her Vncles the *Guiſes*. Alſo in theſe lettes ſhee inſinuated that ſhee vrged theſe things the more vehemently, for that ſhee had heard that many did ſecretly deuiſe to ſet in another ſucceſſor, and that onely for the cauſe of Religion, though ſhee did tolerate in *Scotland* the Religion of the Proteſtants.

But when the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, at the ſame time dealt with the Emperour *Ferdinand*, that ſhee might marrie with his ſonne *Charles* the Archduke, who then ſued vnto Q. *Elizabeth* for mariage; Queene *Elizabeth* threatned her by *Thomas Randolph*, that if ſhee did conſent vnto the Cardinall (the mortall enemie of *England*) about that mariage, both that the amitie betweene

England

England and *Scotland* might be diſſolued, and perhaps ſhe excluded from her hope of the Realme of *England*: and if ſhe would not miſſe thereof, ſhe in friendly manner willed her to chooſe ſuch a husband in *England*, in whoſe choice ſhee might principally giue her ſelfe content, and then giue ſatisfaction to her owne Subiects, and alſo to the *Engliſh* men, in the conſeruation of the peace, and make the way ſmoother and plainer vnto her aſſured ſucceſſion in *England*, which cannot bee publiſhed and made knowne vntill it was certainly knowne whom ſhe would take to her husband.

Anno 1563.

WHen in the heat of the ciuill warres of *France*, the Duke of *Guiſe*, Vncle vnto the Q. of *Scotland*, was ſlaine, her dowrie out of *France* was not paid, *Hamilton* D. of *Chaſteauleroy* was depriued of his Duchie, and the *Scots* were diſplaced from the Captainſhip of the Guard, which things ſhe tooke in very euill part: The Cardinall of *Lorraine*, another of her Vncles, fearing leſt hereupon ſhe leauing the *French*, ſhould cleaue vnto the amitie of *England*, he propoſed againe by *Crocus*, the mariage with *Charles d' Auſtria*, offering to her the Countie of *Tyrole* for her dowrie. Shee acquainted Queene *Elizabeth* with the matter, who by *Randolph* gaue her thoſe former admonitions about the chooſing of a husband (as I haue ſaid before) and then in plainer termes commended *Robert Dudley* (whoſe wife being the heire of *Robſert*, was killed a good while ſince, by falling downe a paire of ſtaires)

ſtaires) and promiſed that if ſhee would marrie him, ſhe ſhould be declared by the authoritie of Parliament, ſiſter, or daughter, & heire apparant of *England*, if ſhe died without iſſue. As ſoone as the Queene-mother & her Vncles heard this by *Foixius* the *French* Embaſſador in *England*, they did ſo diſdaine the mariage with *Dudley*, as altogether vnequall & vnworthy to match in a royall ſtocke and linage, as they promiſed not onely to pay her dowrie, but alſo to reſtore vnto the *Scots* all their former liberties, and more large alſo, if ſhe would perſiſt firmely in the friendſhip of *France*, and refuſe the mariage offered vnto her: and alſo they ſuggeſted and put in her head, that Queene *Elizabeth* did propoſe this mariage not ſeriouſly, but colourably, as though ſhee had aſſigned *Dudley* for her owne husband: And that there was no cauſe why ſhe ſhould put any truſt or confidence in the authoritie of a Parliament, ſince that in *England* one Parliament may repeale that which another hath enacted. Moreouer, that the purpoſes of the *Engliſh* men were no other, but by one meanes or other to keepe her alwaies from mariage. But yet ſhe referred this matter vnto conference, being wonderfully vexed and troubled at home, when *Murrey* caſt into priſon the Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrewes*, becauſe he abſtained not from ſaying Maſſe, vnto whom ſhee hardly got pardon, with ſhedding of teares. And the hot ſpirited Miniſters of the Church, bolſtered by the authoritie of *Murrey*, offered violence (without any controlment) vnto a Prieſt who had ſaid Maſſe in the Court (which was permitted by the Law.) Neither was ſhee able to repreſſe the tumultuous perſons, though ſhee applied all her minde about the good of the common wealth, by granting a generall pardon, increaſing the fees or wages of the Iudges, by making wholſome Lawes, as making Adulterie to bee death, and ſitting her ſelfe in iudge-

ment,

ment, thereby to make by Law the higheſt equall with the loweſt.

Anno 1564.

IN this yeere Queene *Elizabeth* created *Robert Dudley* Maſter of her Horſe, a man in high fauour with her, whom ſhe had in her ſecret purpoſe appointed husband for the Queene of *Scotland*, that he might be more worthy of that match; Baron of *Denbigh*, giuing vnto him *Denbigh*, with the demeaſnes, and the next day Earle of *Leyceſter*, *to him and his heires males lawfully begotten*: For whoſe ſake alſo ſhee had before created his elder brother *Ambroſe* Baron *Liſle*, and Earle of *Warwicke*, *and to his heires males lawfully begotten, and to* Robert *his brother, and to his heires males of his body lawfully begotten. Dudly* aduanced to theſe honours, to purchaſe fauour and grace with the Queene of *Scotland*, vnto whom hee made ſuit in mariage, ſtudied with all kinde of offices to deſerue well of her, and forthwith accuſed *Bacon* keeper of the great Seale, vnto the Queene, that hee had dealt in the matter of ſucceſſion againſt the Queene of *Scotland*, and that hee was priuie and acceſſary vnto a Pamphlet made by one *Hales*, who endeuoured to proue the right of the Crowne of *England*, to belong vnto the familie of *Suffolke*, if the Queene died without Heire: for the which he had beene put in Priſon; but *Bacon* (though hee denied the ſame) was with much adoe, and after a long time reſtored vnto the Queenes fauour by *Cecill*, who kept his owne iudgement in this point ſecret to himſelfe, and alwaies determined ſo to doe, vnleſſe the

the Queene (as he would ſay) commanded him to ſpeake his mind, for ſhe could not endure of all things to haue the right of ſucceſſion called into queſtion and diſpute: but the wiſer and the richer men, were troubled with nothing more, whileſt in the controuerſie of Religion the hot Proteſtants thought the Q. of *Scotland* was to be put by, and reiected, becauſe ſhe was of another Religion, though her right was vndoubted (out of ſome querks and words of their Law bookes.) Some of the Romaniſts, and moſt that regarded equitie and iuſtice, thought ſhe was to be receiued, as the true and certaine Heire by the Law. And many preferred *Margaret*, Aunt to the Queene of *Scotland*, the wife of *Matthew Stewart* Earle of *Lennox*, and her children, as thoſe of whom they hoped the beſt, as borne in *England*. Theſe things were not vnknowne vnto the Q. of *Scotland*, who to preuent it as much as ſhe could, by the aduice of the Counteſſe of *Lennox* her Aunt, ſent for *Matthew* Earle of *Lennox*, to come into *Scotland*, vnder pretence to reſtore him into his ancient Patrimonie, but indeed to aske him counſell in theſe affaires, who by his wiues meanes, obtained leaue, and alſo letters of commendations from Queene *Elizabeth*, after hee had beene baniſhed from his natiue Countrie now full twentie yeeres.

Hee (for I will for more perſpicuitie and light to the matter, rehearſe the ſame ſomewhat higher) was borne of the ſame ſtocke of the *Stewarts*, as the royall familie of the *Scots* was: For *Marie* daughter vnto *Iames* the ſecond, King of *Scotland*, bore vnto *Iames Hamilton*, *Iames* the firſt of this ſtocke, Earle of *Arran*, and *Marie* his daughter, wife vnto *Matthew Stewart* Earle of *Lennox*, the firſt of this Chriſtian name. *Iames* Earle of *Arran*, his firſt wife being diuorced, and yet liuing, married *Ienet Beton*, Aunt to Cardinall *Beton*, by whom he

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he had *Iames* D. of *Chaſteauleroy*, whom his aduerſaries hereupon accounted a Baſtard. *Marie* ſiſter to the Earle of *Arran*, bore vnto *Matthew*, *Iohn* Earle of *Lennox*, who being ſlaine by the *Hamiltons*, at ſuch time as he would haue reſtored *Iames* the fourth to his libertie, left this ſecond *Matthew Stewart* (of whom we ſpeake) Earle of *Lennox*, moſt deare to *Iames* the fift, in regard of his father. But *Matthew* (the King being dead, and the *Hamiltons* hauing all the gouernment in their power) departed ſecretly into *France*, from whence hee was ſent by *Henry* the ſecond, the *French* King, to ſee that the common wealth of *Scotland* tooke no harme by *Hamilton* the Regent; and herein he behaued himſelfe worthily: but being a plaine and honeſt minded man, (and entangled by the craft and policie of Cardinall *Beton*, and *Hamilton*,) he fell out of the fauour of the *French* King in a ſhort time: And when hee could neither tarrie at home, nor returne into *France*, he came into *England* and ſubmitted himſelfe to King *Henry* the eighth, who accepted him as a man well beloued in the Weſt borders, and acknowledged him as next heire to the Crowne of *Scotland*, after MARIE then an infant, (though the *Hamiltons* confiſcated all his poſſeſſions, as of a Traitor condemned) and married him vnto the Ladie *Margaret Douglas* his Niece, by his eldeſt ſiſter, giuing him lands in *England*, worth yeerely of the old rent 1700. Markes, he promiſing for his part, to deliuer into the hands of the King of *England*, the Caſtles of *Dunbritton*, the Ile of *Butha*, and the Caſtle of *Rothſay*, which peeces being couragiouſly and valiantly attempted, could not yet be gotten.

This man, the Queene of *Scotland* (a woman prudent and circumſpect, and who applied all her ſtudies vpon the hopes of *England*) ſent for to come into *Scotland* (as I haue ſaid) pardoned his baniſhment, reſtored him

vnto his ancient poſſeſſions, as well that ſhee might oppoſe him againſt the attempts of *Iames* the Baſtard, as alſo to put other folkes out of hope of the ſucceſſion of *England*, by his ſonne, *Henry Darly*. For if that young man borne of the royall bloud in *England*, and well beloued of the *Engliſh* Nation, ſhould marrie with ſome of the great families of *England*, ſhee ſecretly to her ſelfe feared, that he bolſtered vp with the power of *England*, might bee a blocke in her way, in the right of her ſucceſſion in *England*, ſince hee was accounted in moſt mens opinion, the ſecond heire of the Crowne of *England* after her: and there was nothing ſhee more wiſhed, than that the Realmes of *England* and *Scotland* might deuolue by her meanes vnto ſome of the *Scottiſh* race, and by him might bee propagated vnto poſteritie, in the ancient ſurname of the *Stewarts*.

This came to the knowledge of Queene *Elizabeth*, and to preuent her purpoſe, ſhee declared vnto her by *Randolph*, that that mariage was ſo vniuerſally diſallowed by the *Engliſh* men, that ſhe adiourned the Parliament againſt the will of her Councell vntill another time, leſt the Eſtates, moued vnto wrath for this cauſe, ſhould make ſome act againſt her right in ſucceſſion: which leſt it ſhould afterward come to paſſe, ſhe willed her not to doe ſo, but to giue ſatisfaction vnto the *Engliſh* men, by thinking vpon ſome other match. And now againe ſhe commended *Leiceſter*, (whom ſhe had aduanced vnto the degree of an Earle, and eſpecially for that cauſe) with more earneſtneſſe, to bee her husband.

Vpon this occaſion at *Barwicke*, in the moneth of Nouember, there talked together about the mariage with *Leiceſter*, the Earle of *Bedford* and *Randolph*, and for her were *Murrey* and *Lidington* Commiſſioners. The *Engliſh* men promiſed firme amitie, perpetuall peace,

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peace, and certaine hope of the ſucceſſion, if ſhee would marrie with *Leiceſter*, for vpon this condition, Queene *Elizabeth* had promiſed to declare her daughter adoptiue, or ſiſter by authoritie of Parliament. The *Scots* ſtood hard to it, that it was not for the dignitie of a Queene deſired for wife by *Charles* the ſonne of the Emperor *Ferdinand*, the King of *France*, the Prince of *Condy*, and the Duke of *Ferrara*, to abaſe her ſelfe vnto the mariage of a new-made Earle, and a ſubiect of *England*, vpon a hope onely, and no dowrie being offered, ſaying alſo it was neither honorable vnto the Queene of *England*, to commend ſo meane a huſband to ſo great a Princeſſe, her next kinſwoman; but that this ſhould bee a moſt certaine argument of loue, if ſhe would permit her at her owne choice to elect her ſelfe a husband, who ſhall keepe peace with *England*, and withall aſſigne a good annuitie vnto her, and confirme the right of ſucceſſion by the authoritie of Parliament. In all this buſineſſe Queene *Elizabeth* earneſtly deſired, that the ſucceſſion of both the Kingdomes might be eſtabliſhed in the *Engliſh* Nation, though ſhe was ſlow in the ſame. The Queene of *Scotland* (when the matter had hung thus in talke for the ſpace of two yeeres) now determined to take *Darly* vnto her husband, did ſuſpect that Queene *Elizabeth* did not deale ſincerely with her, but that ſhe did propound this mariage for no other end and purpoſe, but that ſhee might make the firſt choice of the beſt ſuiter or wooer for her ſelfe, or elſe might marrie with better excuſe vnto *Leiceſter*. But the *Scottiſh* Delegates looking alſo for their owne purpoſes, determined by one way or other to thruſt ſome obſtacle or other in any mariage, that they might retaine ſtill their authoritie with the Queene. Queene *Elizabeth* had willed the Commiſſioners to hinder the mariage with *Darly*; and *Leiceſter*

himſelfe, accounting himſelfe moſt ſure of Queene *Elizabeth*, willed *Bedford* ſecretly by his letters, not to vrge the matter much. And vpon this hope it is thought he fauored *Darly* in ſecret.

Anno 1565.

IN the meane time *Darly* got leaue with much adoe to goe into *Scotland*, and to ſtay there three moneths, by the earneſt and humble ſuit his mother made vnto Queene *Elizabeth*, vnder the colour, that he might bee preſent at the reſtoring of his father: and ſo he came vnto *Edenburgh*, in the moneth of Februarie. He was a young man, of perſonage moſt worthy of an Empire, of a comely ſtature, of a moſt milde nature, and ſweet behauiour. As ſoone as the Queene of *Scotland* ſaw him, ſhe fell in loue with him, and to couer her loue ſhe talked now and then with *Randolfe* the *Engliſh* Embaſſadour in *Scotland*, about the mariage with *Leiceſter*, and at the ſame time ſent to *Rome*, for a diſpenſation, becauſe *Darly* and ſhee were ſo neere of kinne, that a diſpenſation was neceſſary by the Canon Lawes. But when theſe things came to light, ſhee ſent *Lidington* vnto Queene *Elizabeth*, that ſhee might marrie with *Darly* by her conſent, and not bee kept any longer vnmaried vpon vaine expectations. Queene *Elizabeth* propounded the matter to her priuie Councell, who out of the ſecret ſuggeſtions of *Murrey*, eaſily beleeued, that the purpoſe of the Queene of *Scotland* tended by this mariage to ſtrengthen, and againe to claime the title, and her right vnto the Realme of *England*, and withall to deduce it vnto the

Romane

Romane Religion againe, and that many would incline vnto them, vpon the certaintie of their ſucceſſion comming of this mariage, and others out of the loue vnto the Romane Religion, and foraſmuch as they vnderſtood, that moſt of the Iuſtices of Peace were addicted vnto it. To preuent theſe things, they thought it moſt neceſſarie, firſt to winne the Queenes good will, to marrie ſpeedily ſome husband, that out of the certaintie of ſucceſſion by her and her iſſue, and from none other, the affaires and hopes of *Engliſh* men might depend, for they feared that if the Queene of *Scotland* maried firſt, and had iſſue, the moſt of the people would incline and bend toward her ſide, becauſe of the certaintie of the ſucceſſion and ſecuritie. Secondly, that the profeſſion of the Romane Religion ſhould bee infringed, or weakened, as much as might be: and that of the reformed, diligently aduanced and eſtabliſhed; this by dealing more moderately with ſome hot ſpirited Proteſtants about things indifferent; and the other, by calling in the depriued Biſhops vnto their priſons (for they had beene diſperſed into the Countries in the time of the great plague) by giuing vnto the Biſhops more ample authoritie, to exerciſe the Eccleſiaſtical lawes againſt that terrifying bugge of the Premunire, (which the Lawyers obiected againſt them) by ſuppreſſing bookes comming from the Low-countries into *England*, ſet out by *Harding*, and the Diuines that were fled ouer the Seas, by remouing away certaine *Scottiſh* Prieſts that lurked in *England*; by depriuing the *Engliſh* fugitiues of their Eccleſiaſticall liuings, which they enioyed vntill this time; by compelling the Iudges of the land, who for the moſt part were Papiſts, to take the oath of Supremacie. But to diſturbe the mariage with *Darly*, it was thought beſt to put them in feare, by muſtering Souldiers vpon the borders toward

toward *Scotland*, and by putting a greater Garriſon into *Barwicke*: that the Counteſſe of *Lennox* mother to *Darly*, and *Charles* her ſonne ſhould be committed vnto Priſon: the Earle of *Lennox*, and *Darly* his ſonne, ſhould be recalled out of *Scotland*, vpon paine to forfeit all their goods, before that any league could bee made by them with the Kings of *France*, or *Spaine*: that the *Scots* enemies to the mariage, ſhould be maintained, and *Catharine Gray*, with the Earle of *Hertfort*, ſhould be receiued into ſome fauour, of whom as of her competitor in the ſucceſſion of the Kingdome, ſhee ſeemed ſomewhat to bee afraid. And this was all that they could deuiſe to hinder the mariage.

Hereupon *Nicholas Throgmorton* is ſent vnto the Queene of *Scotland*; who ſhould aduiſe her to deliberate long on that which was to be done but once, that repentance alwaies followed haſtie mariage, and to commend inſtantly the mariage with *Leiceſter*, and that the mariage with her Aunts ſonne was contrary vnto the Canon Law: for Queene *Elizabeth* very much deſired, that by her, ſome of the *Engliſh* Nation might ſucceed in both the Realmes: although ſome men there were, that thought it would be the beſt for Religion, and both the Realmes, if ſhe died without iſſue. She anſwered, the matter could not bee recalled, and that Queene *Elizabeth* had no cauſe to bee angry, when according to her counſell, ſhee had choſen not a ſtranger but an *Engliſh* man, and one borne of the royall bloud of both the Kingdomes, and the nobleſt man of birth of all *Brittaine*. *Lidington* lying in *England*, did often propoſe the mariage of the Queene of *Scotland* vnto *Leiceſter* colourably, and alſo to the D. of *Norfolke*, as to one more worthy of a Princeſſes marriage, who at that time put off the ſame with a modeſt refuſall.

The Queene of *England*, to interpoſe ſome impediment,

ment vnto this haſtened mariage, called backe *Lennox* & *Darly*, as her ſubiects, according to the times expreſſed in their licence. The father excuſed himſelfe moſt modeſtly in his letters: the ſonne deſired that ſhe would not be againſt his preferment, & inſinuated, that it may be that he may be profitable to his deare Countrie of *England*: and openly profeſſed himſelfe a louer and honourer of the Queene of *Scotland* aboue all others, who to giue correſpondencie to his loue, firſt made him Knight, and afterward Lord *Ardmanoch*, Earle of *Roſſe*, and Duke of *Rothſay*, and the fift moneth after his comming into *Scotland*, tooke him to her husband, with the conſent of the moſt of the Noble men, and proclaimed him King. *Murrey*, who applied all his wit to his owne priuate ambition (and vnder the goodly pretence of Religion) had drawne in the Duke of *Chaſteauleroy*, an honeſt minded man, vnto his ſide, fretting, and others raiſing tumults, and arguing theſe queſtions:

Whether a Papiſt was to be receiued to be their King?

Whether the Queene of Scotland *might chooſe her ſelfe a husband at her owne election?*

Whether the Noblemen of the Land, might not by their authoritie appoint her a husband?

The Queene of *England*, who knew the milde nature of *Darly*, and the plaine and honeſt minde of the father, taking compaſſion of the young man her Couſin, and of the Queene a young woman alſo, who had to deale with moſt turbulent perſons, who being aboue this twentie yeeres looſed from the gouernment of Kings, could not now endure any Kings, tooke it more quietly.

Neither had ſhe any feare of them, when ſhe ſaw the power of the Queene her aduerſarie not increaſed by that meane match, and had the mother of *Darly* in her hand: and foreſaw, that troubles would ariſe hereupon

upon in *Scotland*, which began incontinently: for many Noblemen of *Scotland*, as *Hamilton* and *Murrey*, chafing & fretting at the mariage, this man for that the mariage was made without the conſent of the Queene of *England*, the other vpon a ſpight or priuie malice againſt the familie of *Lennox*, but both of them vnder the pretext of the conſeruation of Religion, diſplaied their banners in manner of warre, to diſturbe the mariage, ſo that the Queene was of neceſſitie enforced to leuie forces, that the mariage might be celebrated with ſecuritie: and then ſhe did ſo fiercely purſue the rebels, by the helpe of the King her husband, that ſhe made them flie into *England*, before the bands of *Engliſh* men, promiſed to them, could come; but the Queene of *England* did couertly grant a lurking place vnto *Murrey*, who was wholly addicted vnto the *Engliſh*, and ſecretly maintained him with money by *Bedford*, vntill hee returned into *Scotland*, which was the day after the murder of *Dauid Rizius*. The cauſes which Queene *Elizabeth* alleadged, why ſhee admitted *Murrey*, and the *Scottiſh* rebels into *England*, were, for that the Queene of *Scotland* had receiued *Yaxley*, *Standen*, and *Welſh*, *Engliſh* fugitiues, into *Scotland*, and receiued *O-Neale*, a great man of *Ireland*, into her protection, had intelligence with the Pope againſt *England*, and had not done iuſtice on the theeues on the borders, and on Pirates.

Queene *Elizabeth* not forgetfull of the *Scottiſh* affaires, a moneth or two after the mariage, ſent *Tamworth*, a Gentleman of her priuie *Chamber*, vnto the Queene of *Scotland*, to warne her not to violate the peace, and to expoſtulate with her, for her haſtie mariage with the natiue ſubiect of *England*, without her conſent, and withall, to requeſt that *Lennox* and *Darly* might be ſent backe into *England*, according to the league, and that *Murrey* might be receiued againe into fauour.

fauour. Shee ſmelling his arrand, admitted him not to her preſence, but in articles deliuered in writing, *promiſed in the word of a Prince, that neither ſhee nor her husband would attempt any thing to wrong the Queene of* England, *or her children lawfully begotten, or the quiet of the Realme, either by receiuing fugitiues, or by making league with ſtrangers, or by any other meanes; yea, moſt willingly that they would make ſuch league with the Queene and Realme of* England, *which might be profitable and honourable for both the Realmes, neither that they would innouate any thing in the Religion, Lawes, and liberties of* England, *if at any time they ſhould poſſeſſe the Kingdome of* England; *yet vpon this condition, that Queene* Elizabeth *would fully performe this thing on her part toward her and her husband:* viz. *by Parlament eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion of the Crowne of* England *in her perſon, and her lawfull iſſue, and if that failed, in* Margaret *Counteſſe of* Lennox, *her husbands mother, and her children lawfully begotten.* As for the other things, ſhee anſwered: *That ſhee had acquainted the Queene with her mariage with* Darly (*as ſoone as ſhe was fully determined to marie him*) *and had receiued no anſwer from her: That ſhe had ſatisfied the Queenes demands, foraſmuch as ſhe had not married a ſtranger, but an Engliſh man borne, who was the nobleſt in birth, and moſt worthieſt of her in all Britaine that ſhe knew: But it ſeemed ſtrange, that ſhe might not keepe with her* Darly, *whom ſhee had maried, or not keepe* Lennox *in* Scotland, *who was a native Earle of* Scotland. *As for* Murrey, *whom ſhe had tried to bes her mortall enemie, ſhee in faire words beſought her to leaue her ſubiects vnto her owne diſcretion, ſince that ſhe did not intermeddle in the cauſes of the ſubiects of* England. With this anſwer *Tamworth* returned not reſpected (as he thought) according to his eſtate and place (for to ſay the truth, the malapert fel-

low had touched the reputation and credit of the Queene of *Scotland*, with I know not what ſlander, and had not vouchſafed to giue her husband the title of King.

Anno 1566.

IN Iune the Queene of *Scotland* in a happie houre, and to the perpetuall felicitie of *Britaine*, was deliuered of her ſonne *Iames* (who is now the Monarch of *Britaine*) which ſhee ſignified forthwith vnto Queene *Elizabeth* by *Iames Meluin*. Who although ſhe was grieued at the heart, that the honour to bee a mother was borne away before her by her aduerſarie, yet ſhe ſent *Henry Killigrew* incontinently to congratulate with her for her ſafe deliuerance, and the birth of a ſonne: And to will her not to fauour any more *Shane O-Neale*, then rebelling in *Ireland*, nor to entertaine *Chriſtopher Rokesby* fled out of *England*, and to puniſh certaine theeues vpon the borders.

Shortly after the eſtates of the Realme in the Parlament holden at *London*, moued the Queene earneſtly to marry, and to ſet downe and nominate her ſucceſſor: but ſhe by no meanes could be drawne to it. Yet that it might appeare to the world, whom ſhee thought moſt rightfull ſucceſſor, ſhee caſt into priſon *Thornton* the Reader of the Law, at Lincolnes Inne in *London*, at that time, of whom the Queene of *Scotland* had complained, that he in his reading had called into queſtion, and made a doubt of the right of her ſucceſſion.

The time being come for the baptizing of the Prince of

of *Scotland*, the Queene of *England* being requeſted to be Godmother, ſent the Earle of *Bedford* with a Font of maſſie gold for a gift, and commanded expreſly, that neither hee nor any *Engliſh* men that accompanied him, ſhould vouchſafe to call *Darly* by the name of King.

That Ceremonie being finiſhed, the Earle of *Bedford* dealt with the Queene of *Scotland* about other things contained in his commiſſion: that is to wit, That the domeſticall contentions betweene her and her husband might bee compounded (for ſome malicious ſworne enemies to them both, had craftily broken aſunder that moſt pleaſant ſocietie of life and loue betweene them) and the treatie of *Edenburgh* ratified. This laſt thing ſhe vtterly denied, alleadging, that in the treatie was much matter that might impeach and derogate from her owne and her childrens right vnto the Crowne of *England*. Yet ſhee promiſed to ſend Commiſſioners into *England*, who ſhould talke about the confirmation thereof, changing ſome words, namely, that ſhee ſhould forbeare to vſe the title and armes of *England*, whileſt Queene *Elizabeth* liued, and her children: As though it were meant in the treatie, that ſhee ſhould forbeare to vſe them for euer. And alſo ſhould declare vnto her, how iniuriouſly ſhee was vſed by their villanous deuices, that abuſed the ſimplicitie and credulitie of her husband, more than was to bee ſuffered. And now ſhe being ſickly and weake, in her letters commended her young ſonne vnto the fidelitie and protection of Queene *Elizabeth*: in which letters (*though ſhe knew*, I vſe the words of the letters, *that ſhe is the vndoubted rightfull heire of* England, *after Queene Elizabeth; and that many imagine and deuiſe ſundry things againſt that right*) ſhee promiſed that ſhee would not vrge any more any declaration of her right, but that

ſhee will helpe, aſſiſt, and cleaue vnto her alwaies with all her power, againſt all perſons.

Anno 1567.

BVt before thoſe Commiſſioners came from the Queene of *Scotland*, and a moneth or two after the Prince was Chriſtened; the King her huſband in the one and twentieth yeere of his age, in the dead time of the night, by a hatefull and abominable *villanie* (which all good men doe deteſt) was ſtrangled in his bed, and caſt into a garden, and the houſe blowne vp with Gun-powder. A rumour forthwith was diuulged in all *Brittaine*, and the fault laid vpon *Mourton*, *Murrey*, and their confederates. And they inſulting vpon the weakneſſe of her ſex, laid it from themſelues vpon the Queene. What *George Buchanan* hath written hereof, as well in his Hiſtorie, as in a Pamphlet called the *Detection*, is knowne to all men by thoſe printed bookes. But ſince hee, carried away with partiall affection, and with the gifts of *Murrey*, wrote in that manner, thoſe bookes were condemned of falſhood, by the Eſtates of the Realme of *Scotland*, vnto whom more credit is to bee giuen: And he himſelfe lamented and bewailed vnto the King (whoſe Schoolemaſter hee was) reprouing himſelfe oftentimes (as I haue heard) that he had written ſo ſpightfully againſt the well-deſeruing Queene: And at his death, wiſhed that he might haue liued ſo long, vntill hee might wipe out with a recantation, or with his bloud, the ſpots and ſtaines hee had falſly laid on her. But that (as hee ſaid) would be to no purpoſe, ſince he ſhould ſeeme to doat for

for old age. Let it bee lawfull for me (that the other part may alſo bee heard) in few words to lay open all the matter as much as I can vnderſtand without any hate or loue, as well out of the writings of other men which were ſet forth at that time, but ſuppreſſed in fauour of *Murrey*, and vpon hatred vnto the Queene Captiue in *England*, as alſo out of the letters of Embaſſadors, and of men of good credit.

In the yeere of our Lord one thouſand fiue hundred fiftie and eight, at the mariage of *Francis* the *Dolphin*, and of MARIE Queene of *Scotland*, *Iames* the Queenes Baſtard-brother, commonly called the *Prior* of Saint *Andrewes*, diſdaining that Religious appellation, ſued for a more honourable title: which when ſhe, by the aduice of the *Guiſes* her Vncles, would not grant, he returned into *Scotland* much offended, and began to make broiles vnder a goodly pretence of the reformation of Religion, and aſſuring the libertie of *Scotland*; and effected it ſo farre, that Religion was changed in an aſſembly of the Confederates, without the Queenes priuitie: And the *French* men were remoued out of *Scotland* by the helpe of the *Engliſh* men they had brought in: *Francis* the King of *France* being deceaſed, he poaſted into *France*, vnto his ſiſter, and laying from himſelfe whatſoeuer had beene done in *Scotland* againſt her profit or credit, calling God to witneſſe, ſolemnly promiſed to doe all the kind offices which a ſiſter could expect at the hands of a brother. And conceiuing alſo a hope, that ſhe being bred vp from her tender yeeres in the delights of *France*, would not returne into *Scotland*, dealt with the *Guiſes*, that ſome one of the *Scottiſh* Nobilitie might be named Regent of *Scotland*, and as with his finger, ſhewed himſelfe as the fitteſt man. But when he was ſent backe into *Scotland*, with no other authoritie, but onely with Letters Patents, wherein the Queene

Queene gaue authoritie to aſſemble the Nobilitie, and to aduiſe and conferre about the good of the common wealth; hee being deiected and fruſtrate of his hope, returning thorow *England*, in a rage and furie put into their heads, that if they deſired or had a care of the preſeruation of Religion in *Scotland*, the tranquillitie of *England*, and ſecuritie of Queene *Elizabeth*, they ſhould hinder the returne of the Queene of *Scotland* into *Scotland*, by one meanes or other. Yet ſhee arriued ſafe in *Scotland*, paſſing by the *Engliſh* Fleet in a thicke miſt, and vſing her brother with all courteſie, commended the gouernment of all the affaires into his hands.

Yet theſe things did not cut off the branches of his ambition, which daily ſprang out, both in words and deeds: For neither could he containe himſelfe, but that oftentimes amongſt his friends he would lament, that the warlike *Scottiſh* Nation, no leſſe than that of the *Engliſh* men, was ſubiected to the gouernment of a woman, and out of the doctrine of *Knox* (whom hee accounted as a Patriarke) hee would often diſcourſe that Kingdomes were due vnto vertue, not vnto kindred: That women were to bee excluded from the ſucceſſion of Kingdomes; and that their rule was monſtrous. Hee dealt alſo with the Queene by his friends, that ſhe would ſubſtitute ſome out of the familie of the *Stewarts*, who if ſhe died without iſſue, ſhould ſucceed one after another in the Kingdome; and not to haue any regard whether they were legitimate or illegitimate, hoping that he ſhould be one of them, being a Kings ſonne, although illegitimate. But the Queene, when ſhe out of her wiſdome weighed, that ſuch a ſubſtitution was a thing contrary to the Lawes of the Land, and would be a wrong vnto the right heires, a moſt pernicious example, and perillous alſo for the ſubſtitutes themſelues, yea and a barre vnto her to keepe her from

mariage

mariage againe. She anſwered mildly, that ſhe would take deliberation in the matter, and conſult with the Eſtates of the Realme about it. And to ſhew her ſelfe courteous and bountifull to her brother, ſhe created him Earle of *Marre*, and afterward Earle of *Murrey* (becauſe *Marre* was in controuerſie) and aduanced him to an honourable mariage: All this ſhee did, being all this while ignorant that hee affected the Kingdome, (bragging that he was the lawfull ſonne of *Iames* the fift.) And to make the way thereunto, he through the fauour wherein hee ſtood with the Queene, oppreſſed the moſt noble familie of the *Gordons*, who had very many vaſſals, tenants and retainers, whom hee feared much, both in reſpect of himſelfe, and of their religion: And baniſhed from the Court the Duke of *Chaſteauleroy* (who was accounted the next heire to the Crowne) impriſoned the Earle of *Arran* his ſonne, baniſhed *Bothwell* into *England*, and put all them that he thought might croſſe him, out of office: And he as a Guardian kept the Queene as his Ward, and at his command, being moſt carefull and diligent to keepe her from mariage.

And as ſoone as he vnderſtood, that on the one ſide the Emperour ſued to her for his brother, and the King of *Spaine* for his ſonne; he diſſwaded her vtterly from them both: becauſe (forſooth) the libertie of *Scotland* would not, nor could not endure a forraigne Prince. And whenſoeuer that gouernment deſcended vnto women, that they maried no other husbands, but of the *Scottiſh* Nation: But afterwards, when all the *Scots* generally wiſhed to ſee her maried, and hee found out that the Counteſſe of *Lennox* had ſo prouidently wrought, that ſhee inclined to marrie *Darly*; hee alſo commended him as a good husband for her, hoping the young man, being of a ſoft nature, would be ruled by

by him in all things. Yet when hee ſaw the Queene to loue *Darly* exceedingly, and he himſelfe to grow out of her fauour, hee repented him of his counſell hee had giuen, and willed Queene *Elizabeth* to hinder her mariage by one meanes or other.

The mariage being made vp, and *Darly* proclaimed King, when the Queene reuoked the donations made to him and others, againſt the Lawes in her minoritie; hee with other, put himſelfe in armes againſt the King; alleadging, that the new King was an enemie vnto the Religion of the Proteſtants; and that he was maried without the conſent of the Queene of *England*. But hee fled into *England* (as I haue already ſaid) neuer aduenturing to fight: And being fruſtrate of all hope of helpe from thence, hee dealt by letters with *Mourton*, a profound ſubtill man, who was as his other ſelfe, that ſince the mariage could not bee diſſolued, yet that the loue betweene the parties might be broken by ſome ſecret deuices: and a fit occaſion offered it ſelfe; for ſhe vpon the ariſing of ſome priuate diſcontent, to keepe vnder the ſwelling minde of the young man, and to conſerue her royall authoritie whole to her ſelfe, had begunne to ſet her husbands name laſt in the Proclamations and Records, and to omit it vtterly in the coine.

Mourton being a cunning man to breed diſcontents, with his flattering words crept into the Kings good liking and opinion, and then perſwaded him to take vpon him the Crowne of the Realme, yea, in deſpight of the Queene, and to make himſelfe free from the gouernment of women; for that it is the condition of women, ſaid he, to obey, and of men to rule. By this counſell, if it were taken, he hoped not onely to draw away the loue of the Queene, but of all the Nobilitie and commons alſo from the King, to eſtrange the

Queene,

Queene, and with diuers ſlanders firſt heartened the King to murther *Dauid Rizius a Piedmountoys*, leſt that politike fellow ſhould preuent their purpoſes (this man was a Muſitian by profeſſion, and came the laſt yeere with *Moret* the Embaſſador of *Sauoy*; and by the Queene for his wit and dexteritie receiued into her houſhold and fauour, and preferred to write her *French* letters, and vnto her priuie Councell in the abſence of the Secretarie.) Then to eſtrange her loue the more, he perſwaded the King to bee preſent at the murder, with *Ruthen* and the reſt, who ruſhing together with him in to the Queenes dining Parlour, at ſupper time (ſhee ſitting at the table with the Counteſſe of *Argile*) aſſaulted the fellow with their naked ſwords, as he taſted meat taken from the Queenes table, at the Cupbord (as the ſeruants of the priuie Chamber vſe to doe) before her face, being great with childe, trembling with feare, ſetting a Piſtoll at her breaſt; ſo that ſhee was in danger of abortion, and dragged him into the vtter Chamber, where they moſt cruelly killed him, and ſhut vp the Queene into a Parlour: *Mourton* all this while guarding all the paſſages.

This murther was committed the euening before the day appointed vnto *Murrey* to appeare for his triall in the aſſembly of the Eſtates for his rebellion, who came in on the next day, when no body expected him, and no man appeared againſt him in that troubleſome time: So that it may ſeeme that the murder of *Dauid* was haſtened of ſet purpoſe to procure the ſecuritie and ſafety of *Murrey*. Yet the Queene at the earneſt ſuit of the King, receiued him courteouſly, and continued in brotherly loue towards him. But the King when he conſidered the enormitie of the offence (and ſeeing now the Queene to bee very angry) repented his raſhneſſe, and in humble manner ſubmitted himſelfe vnto

her clemencie, weeping and lamenting, and asking pardon, did ingenuouſly confeſſe, that he committed that hainous offence by the inſtigation of *Murrey* and *Mourton*: and from thenceforth did ſo hate *Murrey*, (for *Mourton*, *Ruthen*, and others, were fled into *England* vpon the murther, with the commendatorie letters of *Murrey* vnto *Bedford*) that hee deuiſed to kill him. But when out of wrath and raſhneſſe, hee could not conceale his purpoſe, nor (ſuch was his reſpect vnto the Queene his wife) durſt execute it; he told her how profitable it would bee for the common-wealth, and alſo for the ſecuritie of the royall familie, if *Murrey* were rid out of the way. She deteſting the thing, terrified him euen with threats, from ſuch enterpriſes, putting him in hope of reconciliation. Yet hee when hee ſaw, to his hearts griefe, the Baſtard to be of ſuch power with the Queene, out of his impatience hee plotted the ſame matter with others; which when it came to the eares of *Murrey*, to preuent him, vnder colour of dutie, hee laieth cloſer ſnares for the young man, vſing *Mourton* (though abſent) for his counſellor.

They thought it requiſite aboue all things, vtterly to auert the Queenes minde from the King; and by flatterie to induce *Bothwell*, lately reconciled vnto *Murrey*, and in great fauour with the Queene, into their ſocietie, ſhewing him a hope to be diuorced from his wife, and to marrie with the Queene, as ſoone as ſhe was widow. And for the performance of theſe things, and alſo to defend him againſt all perſons, they bound themſelues vnder their hands and ſeales, being perſwaded, if the matter hit right, that they might by one labour kill the King, vtterly diſcredit the Queene amongſt the Nobilitie and Commons, vndoe *Bothwell* vtterly, and bring the gouernment of all the affaires vnto their hands.

Bothwell being a lewd minded man, blinded with ambition,

ambition, and therefore venturous to attempt, quickly laid hold on the hope offered vnto him, and villanously committed the murther. But *Murrey* had secretly gone home a prettie way off, fifteene houres before, that he might no way be suspected; and that hee might from thence giue aid vnto the Conspirators, when any need was, and all the suspition might light vpon the Queene. As soone as hee returned vnto the Court, both he and the Conspirators commended vnto her *Bothwell*, as most worthy of her loue, for the Nobilitie of his familie, his valour shewed against the *English*, and his approued fidelitie. They put in her head, that shee being alone and solitarie, was not able to represse the tumults that were raised, prevent secret plots, and vphold the burthen and heauie weight of the Kingdome. Therefore she might doe well to take as a Companion of her bed, counsell, and danger, the man that could, would, and durst oppose himselfe against all trouble. And they draue and enforced her so farre, that the fearefull woman, daunted with two tragicall murthers, and remembring the fidelitie and constancie of *Bothwell* towards her and her mother, and hauing no other friend vnto whom to resort, but vnto her brothers fidelitie, gaue her consent: Yet vpon these conditions, that aboue all this, prouision might bee made for the safetie of her little sonne; and then, that *Bothwell* as well might bee cleered from the murther of the King, as also from the bond of his former mariage.

What *George* Earle of *Huntley*, and the *Earle* of *Argile*, men of great Nobilitie in *Scotland*, did forthwith protest of this matter, I thinke good to set downe in this place, out of the originall, with their owne hands, sent vnto Queene *Elizabeth*, which I haue seene. *For asmuch as Murrey and others, to cloake their rebellion against the Queene (whose authoritie they vsurpe) doe*

ſlander her openly, as priuie and conſenting vnto her huſbands death: Wee doe publikely proteſt and ſweare theſe things. In the Moneth of December, in the yeere of our Lord God one thouſand fiue hundred fiftie and ſix, when the Queene lay at Cragmyller, Murrey and Lidington did acknowledge before vs, That Mourton, Lyndſey, and Ruthen killed Dauid Rizio, for no other end, but to procure the ſafetie of Murrey, who was to bee attainted at the ſame time. Therefore leſt they ſhould bee vnthankfull, they wiſhed that Mourton and the reſt, baniſhed for the death of Dauid, might bee brought home againe: And this they inſinuated could not be done, except the Queene were ſeparated by a diuorce from the King, which they promiſed to effect, if wee would grant our conſents. And afterwards Murrey promiſed vnto me George Earle of Huntley, the reſtitution of my ancient Patrimonie, and perpetuall fauour of the baniſhed men, if I would fauour the diuorce. Then they went vnto Bothwell, that hee ſhould conſent thereunto. Laſtly, we came vnto the Queene, and Lidington in all our names beſought her exceedingly to remit the ſentence of exile againſt Mourton, Lyndſey and Ruthen: He exaggerated the faults and crimes of the King with bitter words; and ſhewed, that it was much for the good and benefit of the Queene and the Common-wealth, that a diuorce were ſpeedily ſued out: foraſmuch as the King and ſhe could not liue together with ſecuritie in Scotland. She anſwered, ſhe had rather depart into France, and liue priuately for a time, vntill her husband acknowledged his faults: for ſhe would haue nothing to be done that ſhould be wrong to her ſonne, or diſhonour vnto her ſelfe. Hereunto Lidington replied, ſaying: Wee that are of your Councell will prouide for that. But I command you (ſaid ſhe) not to doe any thing which may bee a blemiſh to my honour, or a ſtaine to my conſcience. Let things be as they be, vntill God aboue doe remedie it: That which you thinke may

be

be good for mee, may proue euill. Vnto whom Lidington *ſaid, Commit the matter vnto vs, and you ſhall ſee nothing done but that which is good, and that which ſhall be allowed in the Parliament. Hereupon, ſince that within a few daies after, the King was moſt ſhamefully murdered; Wee out of the inward teſtimonie of our conſcience, are moſt aſſured, that* Murrey *and* Lidington *were the authors and perſwaders of this murder of the King, whoſoeuer were the actors of the ſame.* Thus much *Huntley* and *Argile*.

Now the Conſpirators applied all their skill that *Bothwell* might be cleared of killing the King: Therefore without delay, the Parliament is ſummoned for no other cauſe, and Proclamations are ſet out to apprehend the perſons ſuſpected for murdering the King. And when *Lennox*, father to the murdered King, accuſed and charged *Bothwell* as the Regicide, and was very importunate that *Bothwell* might bee brought to triall before the Parliament began: This alſo was granted; and *Lennox* commanded to come in with his accuſation within twentie daies. On which day, when hee heard nothing from the Queene of *England*, and could not bee preſent in the Citie full of his enemies, without danger of his life; *Bothwell* was brought to the Barre, and arraigned, and acquitted by the ſentence of the Iudges; *Mourton* alſo vpholding and maintaining his cauſe, and openly taking his part.

This buſineſſe being finiſhed, the Conſpirators wrought ſo, that the moſt of the Nobilitie gaue their conſent vnto the mariage, vnder their hands and ſeales, leſt he (fruſtrated of the promiſed mariage) ſhould appeach them as contriuers of the murder. But of this mariage of the Queene with *Bothwell* (who was created Duke of the *Orkeneis*) the ſuſpition increaſed with all men, that the Queene was conſenting to the Kings death: which the Conſpirators increaſed by letters ſent into

into all places, and in their ſecret meetings at *Dunkelden* they conſpired forthwith to kill *Bothwell*, and depriue the Queene: Yet *Murrey*, that hee might be thought cleere of this conſpiracie, obtained leaue of the Queene (but hardly) to trauell into *France*. And that he might put all diffidence out of her head, hee commended all his affaires and eſtate in *Scotland*, vnto the fidelitie of the Queene and *Bothwell*. Hee was ſcarce gone out of *England*, but behold the ſame men which had cleered and acquitted *Bothwell* from the murder, and conſented vnto the mariage vnder their hands and ſeales, tooke vp armes againſt *Bothwell*, as meaning to apprehend him: And indeed they ſecretly willed him to ſaue himſelfe by flight, for no other intent, but that hee ſhould not be taken, and diſcouer all their plot, and withall, that they might lay hold of his flight, as an argument or reaſon to accuſe the Queene of killing the King. But ſhee being taken, they vſed her moſt contumeliouſly, and in moſt vnſeemely faſhion, and putting on her an old cloake, thruſt her into priſon at *Lochleuyn*, vnder the cuſtodie of the mother of *Murrey*, who had beene the Concubine of *Iames* the fift, who moſt malapertly inſulted ouer the calamitie of the impriſoned Queene, boaſting that ſhee her ſelfe was the lawfull wife of *Iames* the fift, and that her ſonne *Murrey* was his lawfull iſſue.

As ſoone as Queene *Elizabeth* vnderſtood theſe things, in her minde deteſting this barbarous inſolencie of Subiects (whom ſhe called oftentimes Traitors, Rebels, vnthankfull and cruell fellowes) againſt a Princeſſe, her ſiſter, and neighbour; She ſent *Nicholas Throgmorton* into *Scotland*, to expoſtulate with the conſpirators for this inſolencie vſed againſt their Queene, and to take ſome courſe how to reſtore her into her former libertie, and for the ſeuere puniſhment of the murderers

derers of the King; and that the young King might be ſent into *England*, that order might bee taken for his ſecuritie, and not ſent into *France*. And what I ſhall hereafter declare (during his abode in *Scotland*) take yee vpon the credit of his letters, which is approued.

He found the moſt part in *Scotland* incenſed againſt the Queene, who in plaine termes denied acceſſe vnto her, both to him, and alſo to *Villeroy* and *Crocus* the *French* Embaſſadors. Yet could not the Conſpirators agree among themſelues what to doe with her: *Lidington* and a few others would haue her to be reſtored vpon theſe conditions: That the murderers of the King ſhould bee puniſhed according to Law; The Princes ſafetie prouided for; *Bothwell* diuorced, and Religion eſtabliſhed. Others would haue her to bee baniſhed for euer into *France*, or into *England*: So as the King of *France* or Queene of *England*, did giue their words, that ſhe ſhould reſigne the Kingdome, and transferre all her authoritie vnto her ſonne and certaine Noble men. Others were of opinion, that ſhee ſhould be arraigned publikely, and condemned vnto perpetuall priſon, and her ſonne crowned King: Laſtly, others would haue her depriued both of her life and Kingdome, by a publike execution. And this *Knox* and ſome Miniſters of the Word, thundered out of their Pulpits.

On the other ſide, *Throgmorton* out of the holy Scriptures brought many places to proue, *that obedience was to bee yeelded vnto the higher powers, that carry the ſword*: And wittily argued, *that the Queene was not ſubiect to the iudgement of any, but onely of the celeſtiall Iudge: That ſhe could not be arraigned or brought to triall before any Iudge on the earth: And that there is no Magiſtrate had any authoritie in* Scotland, *which is not deriued from the authoritie of the Queene, and reuocable at her pleaſure.* They oppoſed the peculiar Law of the Kingdome, among

among the *Scots*, and that in extraordinarie cauſes, extraordinarie courſes were to bee vſed: receiuing their reaſons from *Buchanan*, who at that time by the perſwaſion of *Murrey*, wrote that damned and hatefull Dialogue, *De iure Regni apud Scotos:* wherein is maintained, that the people haue authoritie to create and depriue Kings, againſt the truth of the *Scottiſh* Hiſtories. Yet ceaſed not *Throgmorton* to make many earneſt motions for the reſtitution of the Queene, and for acceſſe vnto her; though *Lidington* had anſwered him oftentimes, that his acceſſe could not bee granted, ſince it was denied vnto the *French:* That they muſt not diſpleaſe the *French*, to pleaſe the Queene of *England*, whom they had tried, did but ſerue her owne turne, ſince for her owne good ſhee hoped to expulſe the *French* out of *Scotland*; and very lately ſhewed ſo little fauour, and was ſo niggardly to the *Scottiſh* men exiled for the killing of *Dauid Rizius*. Moreouer, he was to beware, leſt the *Scots* out of his importunitie ſhould neglect the *Engliſh* men, and incline vnto the friendſhip of the *French*, and ſecretly aduiſed him with the *French* Prouerbe, *Il perd le jéu, qui laiſſe la partie:* That the *Engliſh* men ſhould not abandon the *Scots* their friends.

Then in a long writing, which they deliuered to *Throgmorton*, without any ſubſcription, they proteſted, that they ſhut vp the Queene into that ſolitarie place, for no other intent, but that they might keepe her aſunder from *Bothwell*, whom ſhee loued vnmeaſurably, to worke their confuſion, vntill that wilfull loue towards him, and her womanly teene towards them was aſſwaged; and bade him reſt content with this anſwer, vntill the reſt of the Noblemen met. Yet euery day they curbed her more of her libertie, though ſhe with abundance of teares, and moſt humble requeſts, begged of them

them to deale more mildly with her; if not as the Queene, yet as with a Kings daughter, & mother to the Prince, whom ſhe made humble ſuit that ſhe might ſee oftentimes, but in vaine. But that I may not inſiſt vpon particular iniuries, at laſt they ſpake her faire, and willed her to giue ouer her gouernment, taking either her ſickneſſe, or the troubles in gouernment, for an excuſe; or, as other more ſubtilly willed her, that the reſignation being made, ſhe being then kept more negligently or careleſly, might make an eſcape. When theſe tricks proued not, they threatned openly to arraigne her of incontinencie of life, of killing the King, and tyrannie; namely, that ſhe had violated the Lawes and right of the Land, to wit, thoſe which *Randan* and *D' Oiſſell* had confirmed in the King of *France* and her name. At length, terrifying her with death, they compelled her to put her hand vnto their Letters Patents, which ſhe neuer ſaw nor heard read; in the beginning whereof, ſhee reſigned her Realme to her ſonneſome thirteene moneths old: In the ſecond branch thereof, ſhe appointed *Murrey* Regent, during the minoritie of her ſonne: In the third, if *Murrey* refuſed the charge, ſhe named theſe new gouernours of her ſonne; *Iames* Duke of *Chaſteauleroy*, *Matthew* Earle of *Lennox*, *Gilbert* Earle of *Argile*, *Iohn* Earle of *Atholl*, *Iames* Earle of *Mourton*, *Alexander* Earle of *Glencarne*, and *Iohn* Earle of *Marre*. And without delay ſhe ſignified by *Throgmorton*, vnto the Queene of *England*, that ſhee had reſigned by coaction, and had ſubſcribed to the Ceſſion or Reſignation againſt her will, by the counſell and aduice of *Throgmorton*, who had perſwaded her, that the Ceſſion extorted in the priſon (which is a iuſt feare) was vndoubtedly void and of no validitie. But of theſe things you ſhall heare more the next yeere, out of the accuſations and defences of

both the parties, before the Commiſſioners at *Yorke*.

On the fifth day after the reſignation, *Iames* the Queenes young ſon was anointed and crowned King, *Iohn Knox* making the Sermon: The *Hamiltons* putting in a proteſtation, that it ſhould be no preiudice vnto the Duke of *Chaſteauleroy* in the right of ſucceſſion againſt the familie of *Lennox*. But Queene ELIZABETH forbade *Throgmorton* to be preſent thereat, that ſhee might not bee thought to allow the vniuſt abdication of the Queene, by the preſence of her Embaſſador.

On the twentieth day after the reſignation, *Murrey* himſelfe returned out of *France*; and the third day after, he with many of the Conſpirators came vnto the Queene, againſt whom hee laid many hainous crimes, and perſwaded her to turne vnto God by true repentance, and to aske mercie of him. She ſhewed her ſelfe ſorrowfull for the ſinnes of her former life, ſhe confeſſed ſome things hee obiected, others ſhee extenuated, others ſhee excuſed by humane frailtie, and the moſt matters ſhee vtterly denied. Shee required him to take vpon him the gouernment of the affaires for her ſonne, and required him earneſtly to ſpare her life, and her reputation. He ſaid, it lay not in his power, but it was to bee ſought for of the States of the Realme; yet if ſhee deſired to haue her life and honour ſaued, hee preſcribed theſe things for her to keepe: That ſhe ſhould not trouble nor diſturbe the tranquillitie of the Realme; That ſhe ſhould not ſteale out of priſon, nor moue the Queene of *England*, or the King of *France*, to vex *Scotland* with forraigne or ciuill warre; That ſhe ſhould not loue *Bothwell* any more, or deuiſe to take reuenge on the enemies of *Bothwell*.

The Regent being proclaimed, bound himſelfe by his hand and ſeale, to doe nothing concerning peace or warre,

warre, the perſon of the King or his mariage, or the libertie of the Queene, without the conſent of the Conſpirators. Hee willed *Throgmorton* by *Lidington*, not to intreat any more for the Queene; for that hee and the reſt had rather endure all things, than that ſhe being freed, ſhould keepe *Bothwell* companie, bring her ſonne into danger, her Countrie into trouble, and alſo proſcribe them. We know (ſaid he) what you *Engliſh* men can doe by warre: You may waſte our borders, and we may yours; & we know aſſuredly, that the *French* men in regard of our ancient league, will not abandon and forſake vs. He denied alſo *Ligneroll* the *French* Embaſſador, to haue acceſſe vnto the Queene, vntill *Bothwell* was taken; and euery day hee vſed the diſtreſſed Queene worſe and worſe, whereas ſhee had deſerued well at his hands, and contrary to his promiſe hee had made vnto the King of *France*. Thus much out of the Letters of *Throgmorton*.

Shortly after, *Murrey* put to death *Iohn Hepborne*, *Paris* a *French* man, *Dagliſh*, and the other ſeruants of *Bothwell*, who had beene preſent at the Kings death: But they (which *Murrey* little expected) at the Gallowes proteſted before God and the Angels, that they vnderſtood by *Bothwell*, that *Murrey* and *Mourton* were the authors of killing the King, and cleered the Queene from all ſuſpition; as *Bothwell* himſelfe priſoner in *Denmarke* all his life time, and at his death, did with many ſolemne oathes and religious proteſtations, affirme, that the Queene was not priuie nor conſenting to it. And fourteene yeeres after, when *Mourton* was to ſuffer death, hee confeſſed, that *Bothwell* dealt with him to conſent vnto the murder of the King, which when he vtterly denied, except the Queene did command it vnder her hand; To that *Bothwell* did anſwer, that could not be done, but that the deed muſt bee done without her knowledge.

This raſh, precipitate and ouer-haſtie abdication or depriuation of the Queene, and the ouerthwart ſtubbornneſſe of the Conſpirators towards the Embaſſadors, both Queene ELIZABETH and the *French* King tooke very hainouſly, as a thing tending to the reproach of royall Maieſtie, and began to fauour the *Hamiltons*, who ſtood for the Queene. *Paſquier* alſo Embaſſador from the *French* King, dealt with the Queene of *England*, that ſhe might be reſtored by force of armes; but ſhee thought it the better way to forbid the *Scots* all trafficke in *France* and *England*, vntill ſhee was deliuered; and ſo by that meanes the common people might bee diſioined from the Noblemen, who (as it ſeemed) were vnited in the conſpiracie againſt the Queene.

Anno 1568.

IN *Scotland* the captiue Queene vpon the ſecond day of May, eſcaped out of priſon in *Lochleuin*, by the meanes of *George Dowglas*, whoſe brother had the cuſtodie of her, vnto the Caſtle of *Hamilton*; where, hearing the teſtimonie of *Robert Meluin* and others, a *ſentence Declaratorie* was made by the whole conſent of all the Noblemen which were there met, being very many: That the Reſignation extorted by feare from the Queene, was void from the beginning; and that the ſame was extorted, is confirmed by the oath of the Queene there preſent. Hereupon ſuch a multitude came

came vnto her from all places in a day or two, as ſhee had an armie of ſix thouſand valiant men, which yet *Murrey* eaſily put to flight, becauſe they were ſo fierce, and would not bee ordered in the fight. The fearefull Queene, terrified with this vnfortunate ſucceſſe, betooke her ſelfe vnto flight, riding that day threeſcore miles, and afterwards, by iournies in the night, came vnto the houſe of *Maxwell*, Lord *Herris*; and was more willing to commit her ſelfe vnto the protection of Queene ELIZABETH, than to truſt her owne Subiects. Yet ſhe ſent before one *Iohn Beton*, vnto her (with a Diamond, which ſhe had before receiued of her, as a token betweene them of beneuolence) who ſhould ſignifie vnto her, that ſhee would come into *England*, and aske aid of her, if her Subiects purſued her any farther by warre: vnto whom Queene ELIZABETH promiſed very largely all loue and ſiſterly kindneſſe. But before the meſſenger returned, ſhe went into a little Barke (her friends much diſſwading her) with the Lords, *Herris* and *Fleming*, and few others, and landed the ſeuenteenth day of May at *Worlington* in *Cumberland*, neere vnto the mouth of the Riuer *Derwent*; and the ſame day wrote Letters in the *French* tongue, with her owne hand, vnto Queene ELIZABETH: Of the which the chiefe heads (ſince they doe comprize a longer Hiſtoricall narration of the things done againſt her in *Scotland*, than I haue declared) I thinke good to ſet downe out of the originall, which is in this manner.

You are not ignorant (my beſt ſiſter) how many of my Subiects, whom I haue aduanced vnto great honour, haue conſpired to oppreſſe and impriſon mee, and my husband; and how at your interceſſion I receiued the ſame men into fauour, whom I had expelled out of my Kingdome by force of armes. But yet theſe men brake into my Chamber, and cruelly

cruelly killed my ſeruant, I being great with childe, beholding it, and ſhut me vp in priſon. When I had againe forgiuen them, behold, they laid vpon me a new crime, which themſelues had wrought, and ſigned with their owne hands; and ſhortly after were enranked in battell againſt me in the field: but I truſting in mine innocencie, to auoid the ſhedding of bloud, put my ſelfe into their hands; forthwith they thruſt me into priſon, ſent away all my ſeruants, but one or two maids, a Cooke, and a Phyſitian, enforced me by threats and feare of death, to reſigne my Kingdome, and in the aſſembly of the Eſtates called by their owne authoritie, denied to heare me and my Agents, ſpoiled me of all my goods, and kept me from the ſpeech of all men. Afterwards, by Gods helpe, I eſcaped out of priſon, and accompanied with the flower of the Nobles, who came ioifully vnto mee, from all parts, I admoniſhed mine enemies of their dutie and allegeance; I offered them pardon, and propoſed that both parts might bee heard in the aſſembly of the Eſtates, that the Common-wealth might not any longer be torne in ſunder by theſe inteſtine miſchiefes. I ſent two meſſengers about this matter, they caſt them both into priſon; they proclaimed them that aſſiſted me Traitors, and commanded them forthwith to leaue mee. I requeſted that the Lord Boyd might talke with them vnder a ſafe conduct, about a compoſition; but they alſo denied the ſame vtterly. Yet I hoped they might haue beene recalled to acknowledge their dutie by your interceſſion. But when I ſaw I was to vndergoe either death or impriſonment, I intended to haue gone vnto Dunbritton; but they met mee in armes vpon the way, and put my friends vnto flight. I gat mee vnto the Lord Herris, with whom I am come into your Kingdome, vpon a certaine hope of your approued beneuolence, that you will helpe mee friendly, and by your example excite others to doe the ſame. Therefore I earneſtly requeſt you, that I may bee brought vnto you ſpeedily, for I am now in great diſtreſſe, which I will

will tell you more at large, when it ſhall pleaſe you to haue compaſsion on mee. God grant you long and happy life, vnto me patience and comfort, which I hope and pray I may obtaine of him by your meanes.

Queene ELIZABETH in her Letters by *Francis Knowles*, and others, comforted her, and promiſed to protect her according to the equitie of her cauſe, but denied her to come to her preſence, for that by report ſhe was charged with many crimes, and commanded that ſhe ſhould be conueied vnto *Carlile*, as vnto a ſafer place (if her enemies attempted any thing againſt her) by *Lowder* Lieutenant of the place, and the power of the Gentlemen of the Countrie. Shee hauing receiued this anſwer, and the acceſſe denied, both by her Letters, and alſo by *Maxwell* Lord *Herris*, ſhee earneſtly beſought her, *That ſhee might as well ſhew the iniuries receiued by her, as alſo cleare her ſelfe of the crimes obiected againſt her in her preſence: That it was moſt iuſt that Queene* ELIZABETH *her neareſt kinſwoman of bloud ſhould heare her in her preſence, being baniſhed; and alſo reſtore her vnto her Kingdome, againſt thoſe whom being baniſhed for their villanies committed, ſhee had reſtored vnto their eſtates, at the interceſsion of Queene* ELIZABETH, *and that to her owne deſtruction, except it were ſpeedily auerted. Therefore ſhe humbly requeſted, that either ſhee might bee admitted to her ſpeech, and holpen, or that ſhe might ſpeedily bee permitted with her leaue and fauour to depart out of* England, *to craue helpe from ſome other place, and not to be detained any longer like a priſoner in the Caſtle of* Carlile; *foraſmuch as ſhee came voluntarily into* England, *truſting on her loue, oftentimes promiſed by Letters, Meſſengers, and tokens.*

Through theſe letters, and the words of *Herris*, Queene ELIZABETH ſeemed (for who can reach into the ſecret cogitations of Princes? and wiſe people conceale

conceale to themſelues their owne purpoſes) from her heart to haue compaſſion of this Princeſſe her kinſwoman, being in very great diſtreſſe; who was taken by her Subiects by force, thruſt into priſon, brought into danger of her life, condemned, and yet neuer heard ſpeake in her owne defence (which is neuer denied to a priuate man) and had fled into *England* vnto her vpon an aſſured hope of helpe and reliefe. Moreouer, ſhe was much moued, that the diſtreſſed Queene had voluntarily offered, to haue her cauſe argued and diſputed of before her, and had taken vpon her to proue her aduerſaries guiltie of all the crimes whereof they had accuſed her, who was innocent.

Whether the pittie of Queene ELIZABETH was vnfained or not, is not knowne: But certaine it is, the Councellors of *England* did enter into a mature deliberation, what ſhould be done with her: If ſhe ſhould be kept ſtill in *England*, they feared, that ſhe which had an alluring eloquence, would daily draw to her part many more to fauour the right ſhee pretended vnto the Crowne of *England*, who would kindle her ambition, and leaue nothing vnattempted to purchaſe the Kingdome for her; That forraigne Embaſſadors would helpe and aſſiſt her purpoſes; and that then the *Scots* would not faile her, when they ſaw ſuch a faire prey. Moreouer, the fidelitie of keepers was vncertaine, and if ſhe ſhould die in *England* by ſickneſſe, it would giue occaſion of ſlander, and the Queene ſhould bee vexed and turmoiled euery day with new moleſtations. If ſhee ſhould bee ſent into *France*, they feared, leſt her Coſens the *Guiſes* would againe purſue the right and claime ſhee made vnto *England*, vpon a conceit and opinion that ſhe could doe much in *England* with ſome for Religions ſake, with others by the probabilitie of the right, whereof I ſpeake; and with many vpon a mad

mad deſire of innouation. Beſides that, the friendſhip betweene *Scotland* and *England*, which is very profitable, might be broken, and the ancient league betweene *France* and *Scotland* renewed; which might be more dangerous than in former times, when *Burgundy* was tied vnto *England* in a ſtricter league than at this preſent; *England* hauing now no aſſured friends but the *Scots*. If ſhee ſhould be ſent backe into *Scotland*, they feared leſt the *Engliſh* faction ſhould bee put out of authoritie, the *French* faction raiſed to the gouernment of affaires, the young Prince expoſed vnto danger, the Religion in *Scotland* changed, the *French* and other forrainers brought in, *Ireland* more vexed and annoied by the *Iriſh Scots*, and ſhe her ſelfe brought into danger of her life by her aduerſaries at home. Hereupon moſt of them thought beſt to detaine her as a lawfull prize, and not to bee let goe, vntill ſhe had ſatisfied for the challenging the title of *England*, and anſwered for the death of DARLY her husband, who was a natiue Subiect of *England*; for the mother of DARLY the Counteſſe of *Lennox*, long ſince, blubbered with teares, in her owne name, and her husbands alſo, had made a grieuous complaint againſt her, and had beſought Queene ELIZABETH that ſhee might bee arraigned for the death of her ſonne: but ſhee comforting her with courteous words, willed her *not to lay ſuch a crime vpon ſo great a Princeſſe her neareſt Couſin, wich could not be proued by any certaine euidence: That the times were malicious, and vniuſt ſpight blinde, which doth lay crimes vpon innocent perſons, but that Iuſtice which is the puniſher of offenders was open eied, and ſitteth by God.*

On the other ſide, the Lord *Herris* humbly beſought the Queene, not to beleeue raſhly any thing againſt the truth, againſt the Queene vnheard; and that in *Scotland*

Murrey ſhould not precipitate the Parlament, to the preiudice of the expulſed Queene, and to the deſtruction of good Subiects. Which though ſhee vrged exceedingly, yet *Murrey* in the Kings name, held the Parlament, attainted many that ſtood for the Queene, ſpoiled and deſtroied their houſes and poſſeſſions. Hereupon the Queene of *England* being moued with indignation, ſignified by *Midlemore* vnto the Regent in bitter words; That ſhee could not endure, that by a moſt pernicious example vnto Kings, the ſacred authoritie of royall Maieſtie ſhould be contemned by Subiects, and trodden vnder foot at the pleaſure of factious people. And howſoeuer they had forgotten the dutie and allegeance of Subiects toward their Princeſſe, yet ſhe could not forget any duty or office of good will and pietie towards her ſiſter and neighbour Queene. Therefore it was beſt for him then to come himſelfe, or elſe to giue commiſſion vnto fit and apt men for this buſineſſe, who ſhould make anſwer vnto the complaints of the Queene of *Scotland*, againſt him and his complices; and alſo yeeld iuſt reaſons for their depriuation of her; if hee did not, that ſhee would ſet her at libertie forthwith, and reſtore her to her Kingdome, with all the power ſhe could make. And withall, willed him not to ſell away the Queenes apparell and precious ornaments, though the Eſtates had permitted the ſame.

Murrey did as ſhe willed him, ſince he had depended vpon no other place, but onely vpon *England*, for this courſe of his fickle gouernment, and the Noblemen of the Realme refuſed to bee ſent on that meſſage. To *Yorke* therefore (the place appointed for the meeting) came hee himſelfe and ſeuen of his deareſt and moſt familiar friends, as Commiſſioners for the King infant, namely, *Iames* Earle of *Mourton*, *Adam* Biſhop of *Orkeney*, *Robert* Commendator of *Dunfermellin*, *Patricke* Lord

Lord *Lindsey*, *Iames Mangill*, *Henry Balnaw*: and *Lidington* (whom *Murrey* with faire promises enticed to come with him, fearing to leaue him at home) and *George Buchanan*, one that would sweare it if *Murrey* spake it, accompanied them. The same very day came thither *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolke*, *Thomas Ratcliff*, Earle of *Sussex*, a little before made President of the North, and Sir *Ralph Sadleir* Knight, one of the priuie Councell, appointed Commissioners, to heare the cause of the depriuation, for the Queene of *Scotland*, (who tooke it most vnkindly that Queene ELIZABETH would not heare her to speake, and yet commanded her Subiects to be heard against her, before Commissioners; forasmuch as shee being an absolute Prince, could not be bound to answer but at pleasure, vnto her Subiects accusing her.) There appeared *Iohn Leslie* Bishop of *Rosse*, *William* Lord *Leuingston*, *Robert* Lord *Boyde*, *Gawen* Commendator of *Kilwinning*, *Iohn Gordon*, and *Iames Cocburne*, for her.

When they were met on the seuenth day of October, and shewed each one to the other their Letters Patents of their Commission; *Lidington* standing vp, and turning to the *Scots*, with a wonderfull bold speech admonished them: *Forasmuch as it should seeme by the Commission granted to the* English *men, that the Queene of* England *had no other purpose, but that they should defame, disgrace and discredit the reputation and good name of their Queene mother to their King; and that shee as an vmpire and Iudge should giue sentence; that they should consider with themselues discreetly, what hate and danger they might draw vpon themselues by accusing her of crimes, and bringing her in danger and losse of reputation in this iuridicall and publike forme, before* English *men, the professed enemies of the* Scottish *Nation, not onely with the* Scots *that loued the Queene, but also with other Christian*

Princes, and her Couſins in France: *and what reaſon they could yeeld for this inſolent accuſation (not without the wrong of the* Scottiſh *Kingdome) vnto the King, when he being riper in yeeres, ſhall thinke this action a reproach and diſhonour to himſelfe, his mother, and his Countrie alſo. Therefore he thought it moſt fit to leaue off the odious accuſation of ſo great a Princeſſe, except the Queene of* England *ſhall make a mutuall league offenſiue and defenſiue againſt all perſons that ſhall trouble them for this matter.* And thus the Secretarie of *Scotland* aduiſed them in the way of friendſhip. They looking one on another, ſaid not one word.

The Commiſſioners of the Queene of *Scotland* (for the firſt place of honour was giuen vnto them) before they tooke the oath, proteſted although the Queene of *Scotland* was content that the cauſes betweene her and her rebellious Subiects ſhould be argued in the preſence of the *Engliſh* men, yet that ſhee did not therefore acknowledge her ſelfe to bee ſubiect to any, or vnder the rule of any, being as ſhe is, a free Prince, and vaſſall and holding of none. The *Engliſh* men proteſted likewiſe, that they by no meanes admitted that proteſtation, to the wrong of that right which the Kings of *England* of long time haue challenged and claimed as the ſuperiour Lords of the Kingdome of *Scotland.*

On the next day, the Commiſſioners of the Queene of *Scotland* by writing declare, *How* Iames *Earle of* Mourton, Iohn *Earle of* Marre, Alexander *Earle of* Glencarne, Hume, Lindſey, Ruthen, Sempill, &c. *had leuied an armie, in the Queenes name, againſt the Queene, taken her, vſed her vilely, and thruſt her into priſon in* Lochleuin, *had forcibly broken into her minting houſe, taken away the minting irons, and prints, all the gold and ſiluer coined and vncoined, and had crowned her ſonne (being an infant) King; whoſe authoritie* Iames *Earle of* Murrey

Murrey, *vnder the name of Regent, had vsurped, and had taken into his hands all the muniments, riches and reuenues of the Kingdome. And then they shew, how she as soone as she was escaped out of prison, after eleuen moneths, had publikely declared, and taken her oath, that whatsoeuer she had done in prison, had beene extorted from her (vnwilling thereto) by force, threats, and feare of death; but yet for the conseruation of the publike tranquillitie, that she gaue authoritie to the Earles of* Argile, Eglenton, Cassile *and* Rothsay, *to make a composition with her aduersaries, who yet set vpon her with their men of warre, as shee intended to trauell to* Dunbritton *by vnknowne waies, killed very many of her faithfull subiects, lead others away prisoners, and banished others for no other cause, but for that they had done faithfull seruice vnto their lawfull Princesse. That she enforced by these their vile and lewd iniuries, retired and withdrew her selfe into* England, *to require helpe, which Queene* ELIZABETH *had oftentimes promised her, that shee might bee restored into her Countrie and former estate.*

After a few daies, *Murrey* the Regent and the Commissioners for the King Infant (so they called themselues) make answer: *That* (HENRY DARLY *the Kings father, being murdered)* Iames Hepborne, *Earle of* Bothwell (*who was accounted to bee the murderer*) *obtained such fauour of the Queene, that he tooke her being not vnwilling, in the shew of violence, and carried her to* Dunbar, *and tooke her to his wife (hauing put away his former wife:) That the Noblemen moued thereat, thought it their dutie to punish* Bothwell *the contriuer of the murder (forasmuch as that murder was in euery place laid vpon many Noblemen Conspirators) to restore the Queene vnto her libertie, to vnloose her from her vnlawfull mariage, and to make prouision for the young Kings safetie, and the tranquillitie of the Realme. And when the matter was now ready*

ready almoſt to come vnto a bloudie fight; That the Queene ſent Bothwell *away, thundred out threats againſt the Noblemen, breathed reuenge. So that it was of neceſſitie to keepe her in their cuſtodie, vntill puniſhment might be taken of* Bothwell, *if he could be found. And that ſhe, wearied with the trouble of gouernment, voluntarily reſigned her Kingdome, and transferred the ſame vnto her ſonne, appointing* Murrey *to be Regent. Vpon this her ſonne was with the due rites anointed and crowned King; and that all theſe things were approued and confirmed by the Eſtates in the Parlament. And that the* Scottiſh *Commonwealth by the iuſt adminiſtration of iuſtice reflouriſhed, vntill certaine perſons enuying the publike quietneſſe, ſubtilly gat the Queene out of priſon, and violating their fidelitie toward the King, tooke armes, of whom, though the King (by the fauour of God) gat the victorie, yet they beare ſtill the minde to worke and threaten all the hoſtilitie they may. And therefore it is very neceſſarie that the Kings authoritie may be conſerued and eſtabliſhed againſt ſuch turbulent ſubiects.*

To theſe things the Commiſſioners of the Queene anſwer in their Replication (hauing firſt repeated their former proteſtation,) and ſay; *Whereas* Murrey *and the Conſpirators doe ſay, that they tooke armes againſt the Queene, becauſe* Bothwell, *whom they charge with killing the King, was in great fauour with the Queene, they cannot with that gloſe cleare themſelues from the marke of traiterous ſubiects; ſince it was not certaine to the Queene, that he killed the King. Yea contrariwiſe, that hee was acquitted, by the iudgement of his Peeres, of the murder; and that verdict was confirmed by the authoritie of Parlament, with the conſent alſo of them who now accuſe him; and at that time perſwaded the Queene to marrie him, as a man more worthy to beare rule, than any other; and gaue vnto him their word vnder their hands. Neither did they*

diſapproue

diſapproue the mariage, ſo much as in word, vntill they had by faire words enticed the Captaine of the Caſtle of Eden-burgh, *and the Prouoſt of the Towne vnto their ſide: For then late in the night, aſſaulted they the Caſtle of* Borth-wicke (*where the Queene lay*) *and when ſhe, by the darkneſſe of the night, eſcaped, forthwith they leuied an armie vnder the pretence to defend the Queene, and met her going towards* Edenburgh, *with Banners diſplaied, ready to fight; and by* Grange, *whom they ſent before, they willed her to ſend away* Bothwell *from her companie, vntill hee ſhould be brought to triall: which ſhe to auoid the effuſion of bloud, willingly did. But* Grange *ſecretly willed* Bothwell *to depart away, and gaue his word that none ſhould purſue him; ſo that he whom they might eaſily haue taken then, departed with their good leaue. But now hauing taken the Queene, they paſſed not vpon him, that they might aduance their ambitious purpoſes and deſignes. And whereas they charge her to haue vſed them with rough and rigorous words; it is no wonder, ſince they being her ſubiects, hauing ſworne their allegeance vnto her, had vſed her more rudely and vilely than becommeth any to vſe the Maieſtie of a Prince. And when ſhe moſt willingly referred the cauſe vnto all the Eſtates of the Realme, and ſignified ſo much by* Lidington *the Secretarie, they would not ſo much as heare the motion, but by night conueied her ſecretly vnto* Lochleuyn, *and put her in priſon. In that they ſay ſhee voluntarily made a reſignation of the Kingdome, for that ſhe was wearied with moleſtations in the gouernment, is altogether vntrue; foraſmuch as ſhe was not outworne or decaied by age, nor weake by ſickneſſe, but both in minde and body able to diſcharge the moſt weightie matters of Eſtate. But this is moſt certaine, that the Earle of* Athold, Tulli-bardin *and* Lidington (*who were alſo of their counſell*) *did will her to ſubſcribe vnto the Letters Patents of the reſignation, that ſhe might auoid death, aſſuredly intended, and*

and that this would be no wrong nor barre to the priſoner, or her heires; foraſmuch as priſon is a iuſt feare, and a promiſe made by a priſoner (*by the opinion of the Lawyers*) is of no force, and vtterly void. *And that* Nicholas Throgmorton *did perſwade her to the ſame, by a ſchedule written with his owne hand, whom ſhe alſo requeſted to ſignifie vnto the Queene of* England, *that ſhe had ſubſcribed by coaction, and againſt her will. Moreouer, that* Lindſey *when he brought the Letters Patents of the Ceßion to bee ſubſcribed, threatned her with death, and draue her by force to ſubſcribe vnto it, which ſhee neuer read, the teares running downe from her eies. And that the Lord of the Caſtle of* Lochleuyn *refuſed to ſubſigne it as a witneſſe, becauſe he ſaw and knew for certaine, that ſhee ſubſcribed againſt her will. Alſo that reſignation and renunciation is moſt vniuſt, in which nothing is aßigned vnto her, whereon ſhee may liue, nor libertie granted, nor ſecuritie of life promiſed. So that to men of indifferencie ſuch like vniuſt reſignation cannot ſeeme to preiudice her royall Maieſtie; which as ſoone as ſhe was free at libertie, openly declared, ſhe did it by compulſion, making a Declaratorie thereof before many Noblemen of the Realme. Neither ought thoſe things which they brag they did by the authoritie of Parlament, be any preiudice vnto the Queene; for where in the Parlaments of* Scotland *about an hundred Earles, Biſhops, and Barons haue their voices, in this tumultuarie Parliament, there were preſent no more but foure Earles, one Biſhop onely, one or two Abbots, and ſix Barons; and of that ſmall number, ſome did put in a proteſtation, that nothing ſhould be done to the wrong of the Queene, or her ſucceſſors, becauſe ſhe was a captiue. Neither were the Embaſſadors of* England *nor* France *admitted to know of her, whether ſhe reſigned her Kingdome voluntarily, although they made earneſt ſuit ſundry times. And that it is ſo vntrue, that the vſurping Regent hath iuſtly adminiſtred the Common-*

wealth,

wealth, it is moſt apparant, that impietie did neuer reigne more, and with leſſe controlment, in throwing downe Churches, ruinating worſhipfull families, and afflictiug the miſerable commonaltie. Therefore they requeſt earneſtly, that the Queene of England *would ſpeedily helpe the Queene her Couſin, moſt vniuſtly and vilely oppreſſed, with her fauour, aduice, helpe and aſſiſtance.* Thus much out of the originall copies of the Commiſſioners, written with their owne hands, which I haue ſeene.

When the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners had heard theſe things, they required that *Murrey* ſhould produce and proue more ſound cauſes of this great ſeueritie vſed againſt an abſolute Queene: Foraſmuch as whatſoeuer had beene hitherto ſhewed, was not ſtrengthened with witneſſe, but with letters of ſmall credit, and *Lidington* had inſinuated that hee had oftentimes counterfeited the Queenes hand. He refuſed to accuſe his ſiſter any further before ſtrangers, except the Queene of *England* did repromiſe to vndertake the protection of the Infant King, and vtterly to relinquiſh the Queene of *Scotland*. When they by the authoritie of their Commiſſion could not promiſe it, one or two of either part are ſent for vnto *London*; vnto whom Queene ELIZABETH declared: That ſhee could not yet cleere the ſubiects from fault againſt their Princeſſe; yet that ſhee would intreat her for them, and heare if they had any thing elſe to ſay for their excuſe. *Murrey* who followed them, in plaine termes refuſed to accuſe his ſiſter, but vpon the condition he had ſpoken of at *Yorke*. Then were the Commiſſioners called backe, and put out of Commiſſion, the Duke being glad at his heart, who had alwaies fauoured the Queene of *Scotlands* right in the matter of ſucceſſion, and thought that all this doing was nothing, but to brand her with the marke of eternall infamie, and thereupon to exclude her as an

vnworthy perſon with her little ſonne, of all her right of ſucceſſion in *England*. And hee thought hee had thereby eſcaped two perils; for he feared, if he had pronounced againſt her, hee ſhould doe againſt his conſcience, and vndoe her for euer; and if hee ſpake for her, leſt hee ſhould incurre the implacable indignation of the Queene, and the hate of all them that loued her not for Religions ſake.

But whereas at that time the affaires of *Scotland* were much troubled by the friends of the expulſed Queene, and the preſence of *Murrey* was needfull there; he began his accuſation before the Queene, *Bacon* Keeper of the great Seale, the Duke of *Norfolke*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Suſſex* and *Leiceſter*, *Clinton*, Lord Admirall, *William Cecill*, and *Ralph Sadleir* Commiſſioners appointed by new Letters Patents; and produced Articles ſtanding vpon conjectures, the teſtimonies of ſome men, and the decrees made in the Parlament, but eſpecially certaine amatorie Epiſtles and Verſes written (as he ſaid) with the Queenes hand, to proue her priuie to the death of her husband, and *Buchanans* booke (called the *Detection*) hee gaue them to reade, which was of ſmall credit with the greater part of the Commiſſioners, becauſe hee was one of that ſide, and wonne by money to write. But as for the Epiſtles and Verſes (which wanted names, ſubſcriptions, and notation of the time; ſince that, there bee euery where many forgers which can ſo cunningly imitate and counterfeit other mens hands, that hardly the true can be knowne from the falſe) Queene ELIZABETH gaue ſmall credit, though there was womanly priuie hatred (which carrieth away that ſex farre from the right) betweene them, and ſhee was well content that ſome blot of reproach by this accuſation was left, and remained on the Queene of *Scotland*.

But

But when her Commiſſioners heard that ſhee was contumeliouſly accuſed by *Murrey*, they were moſt ready to anſwer; but ſhee (being ſecretly inſtructed by many *Engliſh* Lawyers, that it was lawfull ſo to doe; foraſmuch as the former authoritie and Commiſſion giuen to the *Duke* and others was abrogated) had already taken away their Commiſſion: and ſhee in plaine termes, refuſed the new *Engliſh* Commiſſioners; of whom one or two ſhee thought to wiſh her no good, but rather ill; except the *French* and *Spaniſh* Embaſſadors might be added vnto them, and ſhe herſelfe might be publikely admitted to defend her innocencie before the Queene, and *Murrey* detained and brought to triall, whom ſhe affirmed might be proued to bee the contriuer of the murder of DARLY. Which things, when *Norfolke*, *Arundell*, *Suſſex*, *Leiceſter*, and *Clinton*, thought not to be vniuſt; Queene *Elizabeth* ſomewhat angry, ſaid openly, that the *Scottiſh* woman ſhould neuer want an Aduocate, as long as *Norfolke* liued; and thought it enough to impart the crimes obiected by *Murrey*, vnto euery one of the priuie Councell, and alſo vnto the Earles of *Northumberland*, *Weſtmerland*, *Shrewsburie*, *Worceſter*, *Huntington* and *Warwicke*, called together with an oath of ſecreſie, leſt they ſhould preiudice either partie. And when *Murrey* was called home, and *Boyde* (as it was commonly reported) plotted to ſteale away the Queene of *Scotland* out of priſon, the matter was put off vnto another time; Queene ELIZABETH from her heart hating the inſolencie of the *Scots*, in depriuing of their Queene.

Murrey a little before his departure, had craftily propoſed vnto *Norfolke*, the mariage with the Queene of *Scotland*, and alſo ſecretly by *Meluin* to the Queene a hope to be reſtored into her Kingdome (as wee ſhall declare anon) and at the ſame time to draw the loue of

Queene ELIZABETH from the Queene of *Scotland*, he had ſpread rumors that ſhe had tranſpoſed her right vnto *England* vnto the Duke of *Anjeou*, and that the tranſcription was confirmed at *Rome*; and ſhewed alſo letters (whether true or forged I will not ſay) which the Queene of *Scotland* had written vnto her friends, in which ſhee both charged Queene ELIZABETH as though ſhee had not vſed her according to her promiſe, and bragged of hope of aid from ſome other perſons. This put Queene ELIZABETH in great feare, yet could not ſhee coniecture from whence this new hope ſhould ariſe, the ciuil warre increaſing ſo in *France*, that the Biſhop of *Rhedon* was ſent vnto her by the King, to requeſt her not to intermeddle with the affaires in *France*, and the Duke of *Alba* who was come the laſt yeere into the *Netherlands* to profligate the Proteſtants Religion, had very troubleſome buſineſſe come vpon him.

But, as it came to light afterward, *Robert Ridolphus* a *Florentine*, who had liued long at *London*, as a Merchant Factor, was ſuborned by Pope *Pius Quintus* (who durſt not ſend a Nuntio openly) to ſtirre ſecretly the Papiſts in *England* againſt Queene ELIZABETH, which hee did both diligently and ſecretly. A ſmall ſuſpition was alſo growne out of the ſecret conferences at *Yorke*, betweene *Lidington*, the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, and *Norfolke*, whom they beſought to ioine his aduice and care to helpe the moſt diſtreſſed Queene, offering vnto him alſo her in mariage, which hee, as a thing full of danger, reiected, with a modeſt anſwer: yet he promiſed not to abandon the diſtreſſed Queene, in as much as was lawfull for an honourable man to doe, ſauing his allegeance to his Queene and Countrie. *Ligon* the ſeruant of *Norfolke*, a great Papiſt, much increaſed the ſuſpition, by his often going to *Bolton* (the Lord

Lord *Scroopes* Caſtle) where the Queene of *Scotland* was kept by *Francis Knolls*, vnder the pretence of viſiting *Scroopes* wife, who was ſiſter vnto *Norfolke*. Although no certaintie was of this, yet for more ſurety, the Queene of *Scotland* was conueied from *Bolton*, where all the bordering neighbours were Papiſts, farther into the Realme, vnto *Tutburie*, and deliuered vnto the cuſtodie of *George* Earle of *Shrewsburie*.

Anno 1569.

NOw *Murrey*, who had made himſelfe a ſecure way to returne into *Scotland*, by the hope made to the Queene of *Scotland* of her reſtitution, and to *Norfolke*, and to others in *England* (for ſhee had repreſſed the *Scots* that lay in wait to kill him, and charged them not to impeach his returne.) As ſoone as hee came vnto *Edenburgh*, he called the Noblemen friends to the Queene, vnder the colour to conſult with them about her reſtitution. And when *Hamilton* Duke of *Chaſteauleroy*, appointed Lieutenant by the Queene, and *Herris* perſwaded by the letters of the Queene, too much credulous, came thither firſt, *Murrey* fearing ſome traps, circumuented them; and ſtaying for no moe, put them in priſon, and forthwith annoied and vexed the friends of the Queene with fire and ſword.

Hereupon were rumours ſpread in all places of *England* againſt *Murrey*, namely, that hee had made a pact with Queene ELIZABETH that the young King of *Scotland*

Scotland ſhould bee deliuered vnto Queene ELIZABETH, to be brought vp in *England*: That the Caſtles of *Edenburgh* and *Sterling* ſhould bee furniſhed with Garriſons of *Engliſh* men: That *Dunbritton* ſhould be wonne for the benefit of the *Engliſh*: That *Murrey* ſhould bee proclaimed ſucceſſor vnto the Realme of *Scotland*, if the King died without iſſue, and ſhould hold the Kingdome of Queene ELIZABETH, by fealtie and homage. Theſe reports increaſed, and with a certaine probabilitie did ſo poſſeſſe mens mindes thorow all *Britanie*: That Queene ELIZABETH through good, for the conſeruation of her owne credit, and for the good of *Murrey*, to wipe away theſe blots. Therefore in a writing printed, ſhe declared in the word of a Prince, that theſe reports were moſt vntrue, and deuiſed by them who enuied the tranquillitie of both the Kingdomes; and that there had beene no pact either by word or writing betweene her or her Agents and *Murrey*, ſince hee came laſt into *England*, that ſhe knew of; but that the Earle of *Lennox* Grandfather of the young King had requeſted, that the King if hee could not bee ſafe in *Scotland* from the plots of wicked men, might be ſent into *England*. Moreouer, ſhe affirmed, that whatſoeuer is ſaid of the paction betweene *Murrey* and the Earle of *Hertford*, namely, that they would giue mutuall helpe the one to the other, to get the Crownes of both the Kingdomes, to be vtterly falſe and vntrue. Laſtly, that ſhe was not the cauſe why the tranſaction betweene the Queene of *Scotland* and her little ſonne was not concluded; and that ſhee will labour all that ſhee may, that it may bee effected. And indeed ſhee did her beſt endeuour, though ſhee was toſſed on the one ſide with feare out of the inueterate emulation, which doth neuer die betweene women Princeſſes; and on the other ſide, with compaſſion

paſſion remembring oftentimes the frailtie of mankinde.

The Queene of *Scotland* kindled more this compaſſion and miniſhed the feare with her often and louing letters; in which ſhe ſolemnely promiſed, both for the courteſie which ſhee had found at her hands, and alſo for the neere bloud of kindred which was betweene them; that ſhee would attempt nothing againſt her, and that ſhee would not bee beholding to any other Prince for her reſtitution, but onely vnto her. Inſomuch that Queene ELIZABETH dealt earneſtly with *Murrey*, by *Wood* his Secretarie, and with other *Scots* about the reſtoring of her vnto her former dignitie and eſtate, and if that could not bee granted, then that ſhee might bee ioined with her ſonne; and if that could not be granted neither, yet that ſhee might liue a priuate life at home among her friends, freely, ſecurely, and honourably. But ſhee could not ſtirre or moue *Murrey* (who had all the gouernment in his hand) to yeeld a iot.

About the ſame time, a ſtill rumor went vp and downe amongſt men of the better ſort, that the Duke of *Norfolke* would marrie the Queene of *Scotland*, which was a thing well taken of many, but in ſundry manners, according as men wiſhed. For the *Papiſts* hereby hoped to haue ſome good for their religion; and others hoped ſome profit would ariſe thereby vnto the Common-wealth. But many men, who ſaw the Queene was not minded to marrie, and that forreigne Princes, enemies vnto *England*, did caſt their eies vpon the Queene of *Scotland*, as the moſt certaine Heire of *England*, thought it would bee a better way to eſtabliſh quietneſſe, and to containe the Queene of *Scotland* within bounds; that ſhee were maried to the Duke of *Norfolke*, the greateſt and moſt honourable man

man of *England*, and a man in the loue of the people, and bred vp in the Religion of the Proteſtants, rather than to a forreigne Prince, who might bring both the Kingdomes into danger by her meanes, and alſo come ſo to inherit both the Kingdomes, which they heartily wiſhed might be conſolidated in a Prince of the *Engliſh* Nation, if the King of *Scotland* ſhould happen to die, whom they alſo purpoſed to bring into *England*, that hee being the true heire of *England*, being brought vp amongſt the *Engliſh*, might be better loued of the *Engliſh* men. And thus all the ſcruples about the ſucceſſion might be taken away, Queene ELIZABETH ſhould haue no cauſe to feare the Duke, and the Queene of *Scotland*; when ſhe had the King in her hands. Moreouer, that the Duke ſhould attempt nothing againſt him, but loue him more dearely; They determined to eſpouſe *Margaret* the Dukes onely and little daughter vnto him, to bee maried together when they came to riper yeeres. Amongſt theſe were the Earles of *Arundell*, *Northumberland*, *Weſtmerland*, *Suſſex*, *Pembrooke*, and *Southampton*,, and very many *Barons*, yea, and *Leiceſter* himſelfe, whether in pollicie, and to worke the Dukes deſtruction, it is vncertaine: yet all theſe thought it good to acquaint the Queene with the matter, and to leaue the deciſion thereof to her pleaſure, and that ſhe ſhould preſcribe the conditions for the full ſecuritie and ſafetie of her owne perſon, Religion and the Realme. But now take the matter briefly if you pleaſe, from the very beginning out of the written confeſſion of the Duke, which I haue ſeene, and the memorials of the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, who was the greateſt dealer in this buſineſſe.

When the Commiſſioners met at *Yorke* the laſt yeere, *Lidington* and the Biſhop of *Roſſe* to winne his fauour, talked with the Duke of a mariage to bee made betweene

betweene him and the Queene of *Scotland*: and ſo did *Murrey* himſelfe with the Duke at *Hampton* Court, who in priuate talke with the Duke, and alſo with many others, fained that he wiſhed nothing more, than that matters in *Scotland* being ſet in good order, the Queene of *Scotland* his deareſt ſiſter, might be reſtored vnto her former dignitie and eſtate, ſo that onely ſhe would ſincerely and vnfainedly receiue into her former ſauour and grace her ſubiects, and that all the remembrances of all offences might be quite forgotten. Yet he feared, if ſhe maried a husband out of her owne choice, from *France*, *Spaine*, or *Auſtria*; that ſhee would reuenge the iniuries ſhe had receiued, change the Religion receiued in *Scotland*, and procure great danger vnto *England*. To preuent theſe things, he promiſed to beſtow all his labour, that where ſhee who had firſt maried a boy, then a raſh and heady young man, and laſtly too a madbraine (thoſe were his very words) might now bee maried to the Duke, a man of diſcretion; which thing might turne vnto the tranquillitie of both the Realmes, the ſecuritie of both the Princes, and eſpecially to the eſtabliſhing of Religion, ſince he (ſuch was his reſpect vnto the Queene of *England*) might more proſperouſly containe *Scotland* in the amitie of the *Engliſh*, and might with the more eaſe draw the Queene of *Scotland* vnto the true Religion which he profeſſed. With theſe ſame things *Murrey* alſo ſecretly acquainted the Queene of *Scotland* by *Robert Meluin*, and offered his labour very officiouſly, toward the effecting thereof. But the Duke anſwered, that he could determine nothing about the mariage, before that ſhee did cleere her ſelfe of the crimes obiected againſt her; yet *Roſſe* as diligently as hee could, ceaſed not to draw him to it, being vnwilling.

A few daies after, *Nicholas Throgmorton* met the

Duke in the Court at *Weſtminſter*, vnto whom he profeſſed and offered his ſeruice very kindly, and ſignified that *Leiceſter* would talke with the Duke, about the mariage betweene him and the Queene of *Scotland*; which *Throgmorton* ſaid, ſeemed ſtrange to him, ſince *Leiceſter* himſelfe ſued for the ſame mariage not long ſince. But he willed the Duke in friendſhip, if it were ſo, that he ſhould giue the honour of that mariage vnto *Leiceſter*, who had beene before time a ſuiter therein. But if hee ſtood ſtifly in it, to denie and refuſe it, becauſe that the *Scots* did charge her with very many hainous crimes. But yet, ſaid *Throgmorton*, I wiſh from my heart, that ſhee were maried vnto you, as well for the good of Religion, as alſo that ſhee may not depend of any other but on our Queene. Yet this I forewarne you, if you doe any thing in this matter, let *Leiceſter* guide you by aduice; for you of your ſelfe ſhall hardly get the Queenes conſent.

A day or two after, *Leiceſter* moued the matter to the Duke, who anſwered iuſt euen as *Throgmorton* forewarned him; and when hee came to ſpeake of the crimes, *Leiceſter* extenuated the ſame, and called *Richard Candiſh* to witneſſe, whoſe ſeruice (though ſuſpected) he commended vnto the Duke. Then *Leiceſter* told *Pembrooke* of the matter, and the Duke told *Arundell*; and they together with *Throgmorton* in their letters commended vnto the Queene of *Scotland*, the Duke as a fit husband (which *Murrey* had done alſo before:) The *Duke* alſo wrote and ſignified his loue, and offered his ſeruice in very louing words. From that time he imparted vnto them all the letters he wrote vnto her, or receiued from her; and they talked oftentimes with *Roſſe* about the manner of concluding it. And by *Richard Candiſh* they propounded in the yeere one thouſand fiue hundred threeſcore and eight, vnto

the

the Queene of *Scotland* theſe Articles written with *Leiceſters* hand: *viz.*

That ſhe attempt nothing to the hurt of the Queene of England *and her children in the ſucceſſion of the Kingdome of* England. 1

Shee ſhould make a league defenſiue and offenſiue betweene the two Realmes. 2

Shee ſhould eſtabliſh the Religion of the Proteſtants in Scotland. 3

Shee ſhould receiue into her fauour the Scots *which were now her aduerſaries.* 4

She ſhould reuoke the aſſignation of the Kingdome of England *made vnto the Duke of* Anjeou. 5

She ſhould marie ſome Engliſh *Nobleman, namely, the Noble Prince* Thomas *Duke of* Norfolke. 6

If ſhe gaue her conſent vnto theſe Articles, they promiſed to procure the Queene of *Englands* aſſent, and that ſhe ſhould bee ſhortly reſtored vnto her Realme, and alſo bee confirmed in the ſucceſſion of *England*. She readily admitted them all, but onely that ſhe could ſay nothing vnto the league, before the *French* King was certified thereof. Shee proteſted that there was no aſſignation made vnto the Duke of *Anjeou*; yet ſhe would procure him to make a releaſe and renuntiation (if they ſtood vpon it.) And willed them aboue all things, to get the conſent of the Queene of *England*, leſt ſome hurt did come vnto her and the Duke for want thereof, which ſhee had experimented in the mariage with DARLY without her conſent. Yet they thought beſt to trie firſt the mindes of more Noblemen; of whom moſt gaue their conſent, with this clauſe, *So that the Queene was not againſt it.* Neither did the Kings of *France* and *Spaine* diſlike it, onely they feared *Murrey*, leſt hee that had firſt broached the matter, and promiſed to further it all that hee could, ſhould

firſt hinder it. Yet they agreed on this, that *Lidington* who was then expected, ſhould bee the firſt to trie the minde of Queene ELIZABETH. In the meane time the Duke imparted to the Lord *Lumley* whatſoeuer had beene done in this buſineſſe, and with much adoe obtained of *Leiceſter* to aske the aduice of ſome other friends. Yet a while after, he opened the matter by the conſent of *Pembrooke* vnto *Cecill* alſo.

About which time, *Leonard Dacres* deuiſed and compaſſed to ſteale ſecretly away the Queene of *Scotland* out of priſon at *Whinfield*, where ſhee was kept by the Earle of *Shrewsburie*. *Northumberland* being priuie vnto this deuice, ſignified it vnto the Duke, who forbade them to doe it; for hee feared they would haue deliuered her to be maried vnto the King of *Spaine*, and hoped to obraine the conſent of Queene ELIZABETH, ere it was long.

But the rumor of this mariage came more plainly to the Queenes eare, by the Ladies and women of the Court, who ſmell out cunningly and quickly theſe loue matters. Which when the Duke vnderſtood to be true, he dealt very earneſtly with *Leiceſter*, both by *Throgmorton* and by *Pembrooke*, to open the matter ſpeedily vnto the Queene: he made delaies, and lingred, as it were, to ſtay for a fit time to ſpeake. But *Cecill* willed the *Duke* (who was now full of care) to open all the matter to the Queene himſelfe, whereby all ſcruple might bee ſpeedily taken away from the Queene and from himſelfe alſo. *Leiceſter* was againſt it, and promiſed to open the matter to the Queene in the progreſſe. But in the time that hee put it off with ſmooth words, from one day vnto another, the Queene being at *Farneham*, ſet the Duke at her table, and bitingly willed him to take heed on what Pillow hee laid his head. Then at *Titchfield Leiceſter* was ſomewhat ſicke, or elſe

fained

fained ſo to bee: and vnto the Queene that came to ſee him, and cheered him comfortably, and perceiuing his ſpirit and bloud to bee drawne inward for feare, with ſighs, and asking pardon of his fault, hee opened the whole matter from the beginning.

At which time the Queene called the Duke vnto her in a gallery, and chid him very much, that without her priuitie he had ſued vnto the Queene of *Scotland* in the way of mariage; and commanded him vpon his allegeance, to ceaſe from further medling therein. He promiſed ſo to doe willingly and gladly, and doubted not to ſay (as though hee cared not a whit for her) that his reuenues in *England*, were little leſſe than thoſe of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, at this time lamentably impouerilhed by the warres; and alſo when hee was in his Tennis-court at *Norwich*, he ſeemed to himſelfe to bee equall, after a ſort, vnto many Kings. But from that time, he began to bee more deiected in minde, and when hee ſaw the Queene to looke and ſpeake to him more ſternely, and *Leiceſter* in a manner eſtranged, and moſt of the Noblemen to ſteale away out of his companie, ſcarce ſaluting or ſpeaking to him, haſted vnto *London* without taking any leaue, and went in to *Pembrooke*, who bade him be of good cheere, and comforted him very much. And on that ſame very day Queene ELIZABETH reiected with ſhew of diſpleaſure the *Scottiſh* Embaſſador, intreating her very much to deliuer the Queene captiue, and bade that ſhe ſhould behaue her ſelfe quietly, leſt ſhortly ſhee ſaw them on whom ſhe chiefly relied to hop headleſſe.

And now when the rumor of the mariage was hotter euery day than other, and the *French* Embaſſador exceedingly vrged her deliuerie (more by the perſwaſion of ſome *Engliſh* men, than by the commandement of the *French* King, as it was after knowne:) new ſuſpicions

ſuſpicions from euery place were laid hold on : and *Cecill* who applied all his care for the good of the Republike and Religion, was very diligent to finde the depth of the matter; and therefore wrote vnto *Suſſex* Lord Preſident of the North, who was a familiar friend, and neere allied in bloud vnto the Duke, to certifie the Queene what he knew of the Dukes mariage. But his anſwer is vnknowne vnto mee. And where it had beene obſerued, that the Duke had many ſecret conferences with *Murrey* Regent of *Scotland* at *Hampton* Court; *George Cary* ſonne to the Lord *Hunſdon* was ſent ſecretly vnto *Murrey*, to learne of him if the Duke had imparted vnto him any thing about this mariage. The Duke in the meane while, terrified with a falſe rumor ſpread, that there was a commotion raiſed in the North, and being certified by *Leiceſter*, that he ſhould bee put in priſon, went out of the way into *Norfolke*, whiles his friends in the Court (who had promiſed ſo much) might auert & turne aſide the ſtorme that hung ouer his head, & he himſelfe might mitigate the Queenes diſpleaſure by his humble letters. But there were men ſet about him to marke and note all his actions. When he found no comfort among his friends, and *Heydon*, *Cornwallis*, and other worſhipfull Gentlemen of thoſe parts, perſwaded him, if he were guiltie of any offence toward the Queene, to flie vnto her mercie; he wauered, and was tormented with diuerſitie of cares. In this while was the Court in quandarie, ſuſpitious and fearefull that he would breake out into rebellion; and they ſay, it was determined to kill the Queene of *Scotland* preſently if he did ſo.

But hee, out of his inbred good nature, and out of his conſcience, that hee had not offended againſt any Law made treaſon (for that act of marying the Kings ſiſters, or brothers, or aunts children, without the Kings

Kings knowledge, made treaſon by *Henry* the eighth, was repealed by King *Edward* the ſixt) and alſo for feare leſt the Queene of *Scotland* out of ſuſpicion ſhould be vſed more hardly and extremely, hee ſent letters vnto his friends in the Court, and told them, that hee ſtept aſide vnto his houſe, that in time, and by his abſence, he might procure a remedy againſt malicious rumours, which are at all times entertained with open eares in the Court, and asked pardon moſt humbly for his offence, and forthwith tooke his iourney toward the Court.

As he returned, at Saint *Albans*, *Owen* a gentleman belonging to the Earle of *Arundell*, ſent ſecretly by *Throgmorton* and *Lumley*, who were committed, willed him to take all the fault vpon himſelfe, and not to lay it vpon *Leiceſter* and others, leſt he ſhould make his friends his enemies. There *Edward Fitz-Gerard* brother vnto the Earle of *Kildare* (Lieutenant of the Penſioners) met and receiued him, and conueyed him vnto *Burnham* three miles from *Windſor* (where the Queene then lay.) Foure daies after, the Abbot of *Dunfermelling* deliuered the letters of *Murrey*, Regent of *Scotland*, vnto the Queene; in which hee ſhewed her, that the Duke dealt with him ſecretly at *Hampton* Court, to fauour his mariage with the Queene of *Scotland*; and that if hee would not, he threatned him exceedingly, and that hee promiſed to fauour it, that he might preuent and auoid the await & ambuſcado laid by one *Norton* to kill him; from whom and others, the Duke gaue his word hee ſhould returne without danger. And that ſhortly after, the Duke requeſted him by his letters written in Ciphers, to giue his conſent vnto the mariage. Moreouer, that the Duke did ſignifie vnto him by *Boyd*, that hee would neuer forſake and abandon the Queene of *Scotland*; and further, that the agents of the ſame Queene had

had almoſt perſwaded the Regent that Queene ELIZABETH had conſented to the mariage; and alſo that ſhe had offered to her the hope of the Kingdome of *England*. And Queene ELIZABETH alſo found out, that ſhee had ſignified vnto certaine Noblemen of *England*, to winne them vnto her ſide; that ſhee went about that buſineſſe, which would bee very neceſſary for the moſt certaine ſecuritie of the Queene of *England*, and the like ſafetie for both the Kingdomes.

The Duke, who had ſecret and warie commerce of letters (which were ſent priuily in Ale-bottles) with the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, *Leiceſter* and *Throgmorton*, was about this time examined about this mariage with the Queene of *Scotland*, and his ſecret conferences with the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, and confeſſed moſt things, was ſent to the Tower of *London*, vnder the keeping of Sir *Henry Neuill* Knight, being bitterly reproued that hee had departed from the Court without leaue obtained, and charged as though he had intended to rebell. Two daies after, the Biſhop of *Roſſe* was examined in like manner, and *Robert Ridolph*, the Gentleman of *Florence*, whom the Biſhop of *Roſſe* & others vſed familiarly, is deliuered vnto the cuſtodie of *Francis Walſingham*. The Earle of *Pembrooke* is commanded to keepe his houſe, and is priuately examined; yet in regard of his Nobilitie and old age, hee had the fauour, that his examination was not ſet downe in writing. Which thing he required, becauſe he could not write. Some Noblemen were forbidden the Court, as priuie to theſe matters, who humbly confeſſed that they with the Duke agreed to the mariage, which *Murrey* had firſt propounded; yet ſo that the Duke, the Queene of *Scotland* and they, willed that the matter ſhould bee referred vnto the Queene before the mariage was to be ſolemnized, and deſired pardon for their offence. In like manner

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the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmerland*, who were of this counſell, ſubmitted themſelues vnto *Suſſex* Lord Preſident of the North, and beſought him to make interceſſion vnto the Queene for their pardon. Alſo ſundry Pamphlets came out againſt this mariage, and againſt the Queene of *Scotland*, and the right by which ſhee claimed to become heire vnto *England*; wherein they ſhewed their wits with ſuch malapert ſaucineſſe, that the Queene thought once to haue forbidden them by ſeuere edict, and permitted the Biſhop of *Roſſe* (winking thereat) to make anſwer; who forthwith ſet forth a booke vnder the name of *Morgan Philips*, againſt them, wherein hee defended the honour of his Queene, her right to ſucceed, and the gouernment of women (for this alſo was impugned) but ingenuouſly acknowledged afterward in his Commentaries, that he had his arguments for her right of ſucceſſion, ſecretly from *Anthonie Browne* chiefe Iuſtice in the common Place, and *Carrell* an excellent good common Lawyer.

Shortly after, befell the rebellion in the North, raiſed by the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmerland*, with many other Gentlemen. Who when they vnderſtood for certaine, that the Queene of *Scotland* (whom to ſet at libertie, they had principally taken armes) was caried away from *Tutburie* vnto *Couentrie*, vnder the keeping of the Earles of *Shrewsburie* and *Huntingdon*; and alſo moued with the great preparation of the Queene, they with a few others fled into *Scotland*.

Anno 1570.

THe rebellion in *England* being now quenched, *Murrey* Regent of *Scotland* laboured di igently, that the Queene of *Scotland* might be deliuered into his hands, and for that cauſe he both offered hoſtages, and alſo to reſtore vnto them the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmerland*; and brought to paſſe, that the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, as the kindler of the rebellion, was committed vnto the cuſtodie of the Biſhop of *London*. Then to purchaſe the good will of Queene ELIZABETH, in the moneth of Ianuarie he came with an armie into the borders of *Scotland* towards *England*, to hunt out the *Engliſh* rebels, of whom he tooke a few, and thoſe of ſmall account; but at laſt hee found the Earle of *Northumberland* lurking about *Hartlawe*, amongſt the theeues on the borders, diſcouered by his hoſt (one of the *Grayhams*, who betraied him) and ſent him vnto *Lochleuin* to be kept; and in this iourney he annoied and ſpoiled the borders exceedingly.

But in the ſame moneth, after hee had taken great paines, and thought himſelfe in great ſecuritie, he was ſhot from out of a priuie place, thorow the body a little beneath the nauell, with a Bullet, as he rode thorow the ſtreets of *Lithquo*, by one *Hamilton*, who eſcaped by and by into *France*, and liued certaine yeeres after, oftentimes proteſting, that he did it to reuenge himſelfe of a priuate grudge againſt him, hee not being able to endure patiently the iniuries he offered vnto him. For *Murrey* had baniſhed the fellow, for that hee had ſtood for the Queene, and impriſoned him, threatning now

and

and then to hang him, vntill he reſigned and gaue away vnto a ſeruant of *Murrey*, a littleground which came to him by his wife; whereupon his wife fell mad, and in a furious rage he brake priſon, and committed the murder. Neither could the man after bee perſwaded in *France* (when he ſeemed to be a man fit for a deſperate action) to attempt the ſame againſt the Admirall *Coligni*; oftentimes ſaying, that he was the reuenger of his owne iuſt griefe, for which he was ſorie; but he would not be the reuenger of another mans, neither for gold nor requeſt.

Hereupon was there much talke of the Regent that was ſlaine, thorow all *Britaine*: The moſt wondering at vaine matters, namely, the dreame of his mother, of the Lion and the Dragon fighting in her wombe, after that King *Iames* the fifth had had his pleaſure on her. Among the wiſer ſort, according to their partiall affections, commended he was by ſome, for deſtroying the Romane Religion in *Scotland*, the conſeruation of the King a childe, the equall adminiſtration of iuſtice, and his munificence and liberalitie toward learned men, and *Buchanan* aboue the reſt. On the other ſide, he was reproued by others, as though he tooke religion for a cloake, and enriched himſelfe and his friends with the ſpoiles of the Church, and how hee was not onely iniurious, but alſo vngratefull vnto his ſiſter the Queene, that deſerued well at his hands, and inſulted ouer her womanly weakneſſe. And theſe men out of their ſuſpitions, and the lewd diſpoſition of many baſtards, did gheſſe and coniecture, as though he would not haue ſpared the ſonne, hauing already depriued the mother of her Crowne. The Queene of *Scotland* her ſelfe was very ſory, that he was taken away by that ſudden and violent death, before (as ſhe ſaid) he had purged his ſinnes againſt God, his Countrie and Princeſſe, by

hearty penitencie. But all the *Engliſh* men that fauoured the Duke of *Norfolke*, accuſed him (as farre as they durſt) for a craftie and falſe deceiuer.

The Noblemen of *Scotland* who ſtood for the King (not admitting the *Hamiltons* and the reſt, who had ſtood for the depriued Queene) being to meet for the election of a new Regent, required the aduice of Queene ELIZABETH. Shee anſwered, ſhee would not meddle in the creation of a Regent, leſt ſhee ſhould ſeeme to preiudice the Queene of *Scotland*, whoſe cauſe was not yet decided and iudged. But they choſe *Matthew* Earle of *Lenox*, the Kings Grandfather Regent, Queene ELIZABETH being not diſcontent with it, for ſhe knew that hee would bee very louing vnto his young Nephew out of naturall affection, and kinde vnto the *Engliſh* men, in regard of the benefits he had receiued at their hands. And ſhe did not doubt but hee would bee at her becke, ſince ſhee had his wife in her hands.

Whiles Queene ELIZABETH ſhewed fauour thus vnto the Kings ſide in *Scotland*; the King of *Spaine* did not abandon the Queene captiue; but by the meanes of *Hamilton* Rector of the Church of *Dunbar*, he ſent ſecretly out of the Low-countries, great ſtore of Armour and Gun-powder, and ſeuen great peeces of Ordnance, and ſome money vnto *Huntley* the Gouernour of the North part of *Scotland* for the Queene. In this while, he, the Duke of *Chaſteauleroy*, and the Earle of *Argile*, Lieutenants of the Queene, by a common conſent, and with the conſent alſo of the Queene, ſent *George* Lord *Seton* Embaſſador vnto the Duke of *Alba*, who declared his meſſage vnto him in theſe words: *That hee was ſent out of a Kingdome depriued of publike peace, and of a worthy Princeſſe, through the trecherie of diſloyall ſubiects, and that the ſubſtance of his*

his Embaſſage conſiſted on theſe points : That aid may bee giuen vnto them, whereby the Queene may bee redeemed out of miſerable captiuitie in a forraine land, and the Realme deliuered from the oppreſſion of ſtrangers : That the Scottiſh *rebels might bee forbidden to trafficke in the dominions of the King of* Spaine*: And that the* 10000. *Crownes aſſigned by him to the Queene of* Scotland *might bee paid.*

The Duke of *Alba* anſwered; That hee would bee ready and willing to further this her cauſe, vpon all occaſions, vnto the King of *Spaine*, but that he could not prohibit the trafficke of the *Scottiſh* rebels (becauſe it was contrarie to the libertie of the Low-Countries) and promiſed that he would diſburſe the money very ſhortly for her vſe. In the meane time the Lord *Seton*, the more to purchaſe the fauour of the King of *Spaine* and the Duke of *Alba*, went in diſguiſed apparell vnto the States, and drew many of the *Scots* that ſerued them, vnto a reuolt, by faire words, good cheere, and ſuch like enticements. And when he was at the point to bee put to the torture, he hardly, and with great danger of his life, eſcaped vnto the Duke of *Alba*, who promiſed to pay ten thouſand Souldiers for halfe a yeere, but in vaine, becauſe hee could not ſend ouer the Souldiers into *Scotland*, the warres were ſo hot in the Low-Countries.

In the meane time, the Biſhop of *Roſſe* who had followed the buſineſſe of the Queene with good diſcretion, and was committed vnto the cuſtodie of the Biſhop of *London* (becauſe he had ſecretly kindled the rebellion in the North) being now deliuered, brought to paſſe, that the *French* King, by his Embaſſadour, to wit, *Montluc*, dealt very earneſtly with Queene *Elizabeth* about the deliuerance of the Queene of *Scotland*, who complained very much, that ſhee was kept ſtraiter in priſon,

priſon, and that alſo vnder the Earle of *Huntingdon*, her profeſſed enemie and competitor (ſince hee as openly made claime vnto the right of the Kingdome of *England*, as ſhe did.) The ſame alſo was vrged exceedingly by the King of *Spaines* Embaſſadour, in his Kings name. The Queene made anſwer (after ſhee had rehearſed the craftie purpoſes and deuices of ſundry men for the deliuerie of the Queene of *Scotland*, who as ſhe cloſely inſinuated, was priuie to the late rebellion) *that it would be great inconſideration, and dangerous folly to let her goe at libertie, who doth aſpire ſo openly by ſuch euill courſes, vnto the Kingdome of* England: *That of neceſſitie ſhee was enforced to keepe her ſtraighter in priſon, to ſend away many of her ſeruants from her, whom ſhee had drawne thither in great number, and to ioine the Earle of* Huntingdon (*in whom ſhe did acknowledge no right vnto the Kingdome, but ſome kindred with her*) *vnto the Earle of* Shrewsburie, *whom ſhe had appointed to be her keeper, who long ſince began to ſuſpect and diſtruſt the fidelitie of ſome of his ſeruants, and had perceiued many of them daily wonne to fauour the Queene of* Scotland, *yet that the Earle of Huntingdon had beene remoued from her a good while ſince.* Moreouer, ſhe promiſed *that ſhe would omit nothing ſhee can doe, to make an end and a compoſition betweene the Queene and the* Scots; *and proteſted that ſhee will not reuenge the wrongs ſhe hath receiued at her hands. But yet ſhee hoped that the Kings of* Spaine *and* France, *and the Queene of* Scotland *alſo, will giue her leaue to make prouiſion for the tranquillitie both of her ſelfe and her ſubiects; which nature, reaſon and her honour doe claime at her hands. If any of them ſhall deuiſe any better and more euident meanes to auoid perill and danger, that ſhee would with a good will heare and embrace the ſame.*

After theſe things, the priuie Councell of *England* ſate oftentimes, and conſulted whether it was beſt that ſhe

ſhe were ſent backe vnto her owne ſubiects, or kept ſtill in *England*, and what courſes were beſt to be taken for the beſt preſeruation of the Kingdome, the Queene and Religion.

About which time Pope *Pius Quintus*, had cauſed his *Bull* or *Sentence Declaratorie* againſt Queene ELIZABETH (the pretenſed Queene of *England*) and the Heretikes adhering vnto her (I vſe the very words thereof) wherein alſo all her ſubiects were declared to bee abſolued from their oath of fidelitie, and all other dutie, &c. And they that afterward obeyed her, were excommunicated, which was dated the fiue and twentieth day of Februarie, in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand fiue hundred threeſcore and nine) to be fixed on the gates of the Palace of the Biſhop of *London*, in the night. Hereupon ſuſpitions increaſed, that ſome dangerous matter was in working. And forthwith another rebellion was about to breake out in *Norfolke*, which was quenched in the beginning; ſome Gentlemen of *Norfolke* deſiring to deliuer the Duke (who was exceedingly loued of all men) had deuiſed at *Harleſton* Faire, by ſounding of a Trumpet, to gather a multitude, vnder the pretence to expulſe ſtrangers out of the land.

Iohn Felton, who had fixed the Popes Bull on the Biſhop of *Londons* gate in the night, being apprehended (for hee would not flie when hee might) being arraigned, with a ſtout courage confeſſed the deed, which yet he would not acknowledge to bee any offence, was executed neere vnto the place where hee had fixed the ſame.

The ſame day *Felton* was arraigned, the Duke of *Norfolke* confeſſing his offence, and ſhewing great penitence, and hauing by his writing giuen his word not to deale any more about the mariage with the Queene

Queene of *Scotland* without the priuitie of Queene ELIZABETH, was brought backe from the Tower of *London*, to the great ioy of the people, remaining at his owne houſe, vnder the keeping of Sir *Henry Neuill*. And indeed he could not be arraigned of treaſon by the Statute of 25. of *Edward* the third, as *Cecill* ſaid, who deſirous of the Dukes good, was earneſt to haue him marrie another woman, whereby hee might bee leſſe feared, and the publike tranquillitie conſerued. Yet ſome there were that thought hee was let out of purpoſe, that he might be thruſt into ſome greater danger. And indeed moe things came euery day to light than he ſuſpected, and the credit of his moſt ſecret counſellors were corrupted with hopes, or with bribes.

Theſe times were full of ſuſpitions and conſpiracies; for there conſpired to deliuer the Queene of *Scotland* out of priſon *Thomas* and *Edward Stanley*, the younger ſonnes of the Earle of *Derby*, by the daughter of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, *Thomas Gerard*, *Rolſton*, *Hall*, and others in *Derby-ſhire*: But *Rolſtons* ſonne, who was one of the Penſioners, opened the conſpiracie, and they were all caſt into priſon, but *Hall*, who eſcaped into the Ile of *Man*, and from thence vnto *Dunbritton*, where being taken at the winning of the Caſtle, hee was conueied vnto *London*, and there executed as a Traitor. And the Biſhop of *Roſſe* himſelfe lately deliuered out of priſon, was againe deliuered vnto the cuſtodie of the Biſhop of *London*, for that he had ſecret conference with the Earle of *Southampton*, a man wholly addicted to the Romane religion.

Queene ELIZABETH (her minde being in great doubt of trouble, vpon the publication of the Bull, and the inſurrection intended in *Norfolke*) ſent *Cecill* and *Mildmay* vnto the Queene of *Scotland*, who then lay at *Chatteſworth* in *Derby-ſhire*, to conſult and deuiſe with

with her by what meanes the diuiſion in *Scotland* might in the beſt manner be compounded, ſhe reſtored vnto her former eſtate, and prouiſion made for the ſecuritie of Queene ELIZABETH, and the ſafetie of her little ſonne. Shee did nothing but deplore her moſt diſtreſſed eſtate, complaine of the crafty policies of *Murrey*, excuſe *Norfolke*, and put all her hope in the benignitie of Queene ELIZABETH. They for the making and eſtabliſhing of a ſincere league of amitie betweene the Realmes, propounded theſe Articles.

1 *The Treatie of* Edenburgh *ſhould bee confirmed : Shee ſhould renounce her title and right to* England *during the life of Queene* ELIZABETH.

2 *She ſhould not renew nor keepe any league with any Prince againſt* England.

3 *Shee ſhould not admit or receiue any forraine Souldiers into* Scotland.

4 *She ſhould haue no practice nor intelligence with any* Iriſh *or* Engliſh *men, without the Queenes knowledge.*

5 *She ſhould reſtore the* Engliſh *fugitiues and rebels.*

6 *Shee ſhould make amends or recompence for the hurt done vnto the* Engliſh *borderers.*

7 *She ſhould enquire, according to the Law, for the murders both of* Darly *and* Murrey.

8 *She ſhould deliuer her ſonne pledge into* England.

9 *She ſhould not marrie with any* Engliſh *man without the knowledge of the Queene of* England, *nor with any other againſt the wills of the States of* Scotland.

10 *The* Scots *ſhould not paſſe ouer into* Ireland *without leaue obtained out of* England.

11 *For the confirmation and aſſurance whereof, the Queene and the Commiſsioners to be appointed, ſhould ſet to their hands and ſeales.*

12 *Six hoſtages, whom the Queene of* England *ſhould name, ſhould be ſent into* England.

13 *If the Queene of* Scotland *attempted any thing againſt the Queene of* England, *by her ſelfe, or by any other, ſhe ſhould loſe all her right* (ipſo facto) *which ſhe claimeth in* England.

14 *The Caſtles of* Hume *and* Faſt *Caſtle, to be kept by the* Engliſh *men three yeeres.*

15 *Some Fortreſſe alſo in* Galloway *or* Cantire *ſhould be deliuered vnto the* Engliſh *men, leſt the* Iriſh-Scots *ſhould infeſt* Ireland *from thence.*

16 *Laſtly, the Eſtates of* Scotland *ſhould confirme all and ſingular theſe things by the authoritie of Parlament.*

To theſe propoſitions ſhe out of her diſcretion did anſwer warily enough, vpon the ſudden; but ſhee referred them for a fuller anſwer vnto the Commiſſioners

ners (ſent by her Lieutenants in *Scotland*) who were the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, her Embaſſadour in *England*, *Alexander Gordon* Biſhop of *Galloway*, Vncle vnto the Earle of *Huntley*, and *William* Lord *Leuingſton*, who afterward admitted ſome of theſe Articles, and reiected others. They anſwered, That the treatie of *Edenburgh* ſhould bee confirmed, the title renounced during the life of Queene ELIZABETH: That they muſt conſider of the ancient league with *France*, which if they did not keepe, the Queene ſhould loſe her Dowrie; the *Scottiſh* Nation, of the which one hundred men at armes on horſe-backe, and one hundred foure and twentie Archers are maintained in the Guard, Merchants, Students, many that poſſeſſe land by inheritance, and that haue ſpirituall liuings, ſhould be put out, and loſe their penſions, immunities and priuileges which they enioy, being very great, and *Scotland* ſhould bee depriued of the amitie and aid of a moſt mightie Nation. Which things, except the *Engliſh* men did liberally and bountifully recompence, they cannot renounce and forſake the *French* league by any meanes: That they will not admit any forraine Souldiers, except in caſe of ſuch a rebellion that cannot bee ſuppreſt by Souldiers of their owne Countrie: That the Queene of *Scotland* ſhall haue no intelligence with the ſubiects of *England*, ſo that the Queene of *England* in like manner ſhall haue none with the ſubiects of *Scotland*, to the hurt of *Scotland*: If there bee any *Engliſh* rebels or fugitiues, they be in the hands of the *Scottiſh* rebels, and are to be demanded of them: The hurts done, are to be examined by Commiſſioners: For the murder of DARLY and *Murrey*, let them be inquired of according to the Lawes of *Scotland*: That they cannot deliuer the King for hoſtage, who is in the hands of them, that vſe the Kings name as a colour for their rebellion

againſt the Queeene: That it is ſtrange, and a thing not heard of at any time, that a free Princeſſe ſhould be preſcribed in her mariage by a forraine Prince, and her owne ſubiects: That the *Scots* ſhall not bee ſent ouer into *Ireland*, if reciprocally the *Iriſh* men be tied with the ſame condition, not to paſſe ouer into *Scotland*. For the more firme aſſurance of theſe things, they conſented to giue hoſtages whomſoeuer the Queene of *England* would name, except the Duke of *Chaſteauleroy*, the Earle of *Huntley*, *Argile* and *Atholl*. Moreouer, they conſented, that the Queene of *Scotland* ſhould bee excluded from all her right of ſucceſſion in *England*, if ſhe attempted any thing againſt the right of the Queene of *England*; ſo that the Queene of *England* might againe bee tied in ſome equall penaltie alſo, if ſhee attempted any thing againſt the Queene of *Scotland*. Concerning the Caſtles of *Hume* and *Faſt* Caſtle, they requeſted that they may bee reſtored vnto the Lord *Hume*, the true Lord and proprietarie of them, and that the *Engliſh* men would detaine them no longer from him: And that to deliuer Fortreſſes in *Galloway* or *Cantire* vnto forrainers, was no other thing, than to giue a new occaſion of warre.

When they could not agree vpon theſe Articles, and the Commiſſioners came not from the Regent of *Scotland*, and in the meane time it was reported and bruted, that aid was earneſtly requeſted by her friends of the Pope, the King of *France*, and the Duke of *Alba*, for the deliuerance and freeing of the Queene of *Scotland*, and the *Engliſh* rebels, as *Weſtmerland*, the Counteſſe of *Northumberland*, and the reſt, were conueied ſecretly out of *Scotland*, nothing came of this Treatie: but yet

The Biſhop of *Roſſe* ſent the Articles of this treatie vnto the Pope, and the Kings of *France* and *Spaine*, and inſinuated vnto them, that the Queene of *Scotland* muſt

muſt of neceſſitie yeeld vnto them, vnleſſe they holpe her both with aduice and other aid very ſhortly, which he did moſt importunately requeſt at their hands, but in vaine: for all they were earneſtly buſied with other matters.

Anno 1571.

A Little before this time, *Ridolphus* the *Florentine*, before named (who had vſed much merchandize and trafficke at *London* fifteene yeeres) ſent very ſecretly the Letters of the Pope vnto the Queene of *Scotland*; in the which hee promiſed his care and ſtudie to the vtmoſt of his goods and labour, to aduance the Catholike Religion and her; and required her to ſhew fauour, and giue credit vnto *Ridolphus* in all things; and alſo that hee may vnderſtand by him, who now determined to returne into *Italy*, by what meanes he may doe any good, and giue any releefe vnto the Catholike Religion, and remedy vnto the common miſchiefes in *England* and *Scotland*. *Ridolphus* alſo in his owne priuate letters requeſted the Queene to impart theſe things vnto the Duke of *Norfolke*, and her friends, and that ſhe would commend him vnto them. But ſhe delaied her anſwer (though the Kings of *France* and *Spaine*, and the Duke of *Alba*, wrote to the ſame effect) vntill ſhe ſaw vnto what end the treatie already begunne, would come.

For there was come, as from the King of *Scotland*, to talke

talke of the *Scottiſh* affaires, the Earle of *Mourton*, *Petcarne* Abbot of *Dunfermelling*, and *Iames Mac-Gill*, who vnto Queene ELIZABETH (commanding them to lay downe euidently the cauſes of their depriuing the Queene of *Scotland*, and to proue them to be iuſt) ſhewed a tedious and long inſtruction or memoriall, wherein with a moſt inſolent libertie and bitterneſſe of ſpeech, they endeuoured to proue the people of *Scotland* to be ſuperiour and aboue their Kings, by the ancient priuileges of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, by old forgotten and alſo late examples, collected from all places; yea, and by the authoritie of *Caluin* they alſo endeuoured to proue, that the popular Magiſtrates are appointed and made to moderate and keepe in order the exceſſe and vnrulineſſe of Kings; and that it is lawfull for them to put the Kings that bee euill and wicked into priſon, and alſo to depriue them of their Kingdomes. But they ſpake much of their lenitie vſed toward their depriued Queene, becauſe they ſuffered her to ſet her ſonne in her place, and to appoint gouernours vnto him. That it proceeded out of the mercie of the people, and not for her innocencie, that they ſuffered her to liue: and many other things which turbulent wits doe malapertly deuiſe and inuent againſt the royall Maieſtie of Kings. This memoriall Queene ELIZABETH read, but not without indignation; and as a libell written in the ſlander and reproach of Kings, condemned it, though ſhe ſaid nothing: but vnto the Commiſſioners ſhe anſwered, that as yet ſhee did not ſee a iuſt cauſe of their abuſing and vexing the Queene in that manner; and therefore her will was, that they ſhould take ſome ſpeedy courſe for the quenching the diuiſion and diſcord in *Scotland*.

Hereupon, at the houſe of *Bacon* Keeper of the great ſeale, it was propoſed vnto the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, the Biſhop

ſhop of *Galloway*, and the Lord *Leuingſton*, Commiſſioners for the Queene of *Scotland*; That for to giue ſecuritie vnto the Kingdome and Queene of *England*, and vnto the Noblemen that tooke the Kings part, the Duke of *Chaſteauleroy*, the Earles of *Huntley* and *Argile*, the Lords *Hume* and *Herris*, and another Lord ſhould be giuen for hoſtages; and the Caſtles of *Dunbritton* and *Hume* deliuered vnto the hands of the *Engliſh* men for three yeeres: They anſwered, *it was not to be doubted, but the Queene of* Scotland, *who of her free will committed her ſelfe to the protection of the Queene of* England, *would alſo moſt willingly giue her ſatisfaction in all things which might conueniently bee done; but to deliuer ſuch great men, and ſuch Fortreſſes, was no other thing, but to ſpoile and depriue the diſtreſſed Queene of the ſuccour and ſtrength of all her moſt faithfull friends, and of moſt ſtrong places.* But they offered two Earles, of whom one ſhould be one of the three named, and two Lords, to be hoſtages for two yeeres; but that the Holds and Caſtles by the league could not bee deliuered vnto the *Engliſh* men, except others in like manner were deliuered vnto the *French* men. *But* (ſaid *Bacon*) *all the Realme of* Scotland, *the Prince, the Noblemen and Caſtles, are not all ſufficient to giue ſecuritie vnto the Queene, and the moſt flouriſhing Realme of* England; *and therefore the Queene of* Scotland *was not to be let goe vpon any ſecuritie the* Scots *could propoſe.*

Hereupon they immediatly gathered, and ſaid openly, that now at length they plainly vnderſtood, that the *Engliſh* were reſolued fully to keepe the Queene priſoner for euer in *England*; and withall, to breake off the Treatie, ſince they exacted ſo earneſtly ſuch ſecuritie, as *Scotland* could not by any meanes performe; yet the other Councellors of *England* proteſted, that they earneſtly deſired the deliuerance of the Queene of *Scotland*,

land, ſo that ſufficient ſecuritie were giuen. And to that purpoſe, they alſo talked with *Mourton* and his aſſociates hereof, and of deliuering the King into *England*, who in plaine termes anſwered, that they had no commiſſion to treat or deale either to receiue home the Queene into *Scotland*, or to deliuer the King into *England*. But the Commiſſioners of the Queene of *Scotland* reiected this ſpeech as a friuolous excuſe: *For certainly they that had authoritie to depriue the Queene, had alſo authoritie enough to reſtore and ſet her at libertie: neither needed they to looke for any authoritie from the reſt of the Conſpirators, ſince that their wicked fact had made them equalls* (facinus quos inquinat, æquat.) *As for the Prince he could not, being but fiue yeeres old, giue them authoritie; and as for the Regent, he had committed all the matter to Queene* ELIZABETH, *and to her pleaſure.* Therefore they beſought the Commiſſioners of *England*, that theſe men might bee compelled to conſult thereof, or elſe the matter ended, and compounded vpon equall conditions, without theſe men. But Queene ELIZABETH, when ſhee ſaw nothing could bee done to giue her ſelfe, the King, and the Realme ſecuritie, except both the factions agreed together; Shee thought it fitting that the Eſtates of *Scotland* which were ſhortly to aſſemble, did elect and chooſe out men who ſhould endeuour to make a compoſition. Hereupon *Roſſe* and his aſſociates openly complained, that many of the Queene of *Englands* Councellors did abuſe the prudence of the Queene of *England*, and the patience of the Queene of *Scotland*, and to haue deluded forraine Princes with their ſubtill policies, and brought the *Scots* in a vaine hope, to their great hurt. And indeed the Queene of *Scotland* ſtomacking and complaining of the ſame, and wearie of theſe delaies, called away the Biſhop of *Galloway* and *Leuingſton*, and com-

commanded *Roſſe* (whom the Queene of *England* had commanded to depart from *London*) to ſtay at *London*, by the right of an Embaſſador (which made a ſuſpicion to grow) and appointed her friends in *Scotland* to take armes, and not truſt any longer vnto the truces which had beene hurtfull vnto them.

For in the time when theſe things were done in *England*, they had ſuſtained great loſſes, many had beene put to execution, more ſlaine, and *Dunbritton* the ſtrongeſt Fort in *Scotland* taken, and *Iames Hamilton* Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrewes*, brother to the Duke of *Chaſteauleroy*, as priuie to the murder of the King, not ſo much as arraigned or tried, was hanged, by the accuſation of a Prieſt, who affirmed, that he had heard it in confeſſion by one of the Regicides.

When now the captiue Queene had no hope left, and was in great griefe, and all her ſeruants but ten, and a Prieſt to ſay Maſſe, were ſent away, and all her hope to obtaine her libertie was gone, ſhee could not refraine, but did open that which ſhe had long concealed in her minde. Shee therefore ſent ſecretly vnto the Duke of *Norfolke*, a long Commentarie of her purpoſes, which ſhe had written before time, and certaine loue-letters in a priuate Character knowne to them two, and other letters to be carried to the Pope, and the King of *Spaine*, by *Ridolphus*, whom ſhe commended as one very carefull of her good: and her very friend *Higford* the Dukes Secretarie, who wrote out this Commentarie and letters, in an vſuall hand and letter, was commanded to burne it, but hee hid it vnder the Matt in the Dukes chamber, and that of purpoſe, as it ſeemed. This *Ridolph*, once to the Duke himſelfe, and more times by *Barker*, reaſoned thus: *That hee had obſerued, that there were many Noblemen and Commons in* England, *that deſired an Innouation; and thoſe were of three ſorts: Some*

that had bin in credit in the time of Queene Maries *reigne, & now were not accounted of. Others, that were addicted to the Popiſh Religion, and grudged inwardly that they might not vſe it freely: And others that were not content with their eſtate, and hoped for better. Theſe were ready, but wanted ſome Nobleman to bee their Captaine or Leader, and forraine aid. There could not be a fitter man for Captaine, and more noble than the Duke, who had the loue of the Realme: And hee had great reaſon to reuenge the wrongs done vnto him, by his long detention in priſon; and now to his reproach, not called vnto the Parlament, in which he had a place and voice, as the chiefeſt Nobleman, and Earle Marſhall of* England. And to perſwade him the more effectually, he ſhewed him a roll of the Noblemen, who had vowed to ſpend their liues and goods for him, if he would attempt it. As for forraine aid, he aſſured him that *the Pope (ſo that the Romiſh Religion might bee aduanced) would defray all the charges of the warre, who had already laid in banke a great ſumme of money the laſt yeere, when the Bull was publiſhed; of the which money* Ridolph *himſelfe had diſtributed a great part among the* Engliſh *fugitiues. Hee promiſed that the King of* Spaine, *irritated by the iniuries of the* Engliſh *men, would ſend to helpe them foure thouſand horſe, and ſix thouſand foot, which might bee ſent ouer and landed at* Harwich, *a Port in* Eſſex (*whereabouts the Duke had many tenants and Gentlemen holding of him*) *moſt fitly and without ſuſpicion, in the beginning of Summer, when the Duke of* Medina Cæli *was to come with a good Nauie into the Low-Countries.* Laſtly, he concluded, *that ſuch a moderation might be vſed, that all ſuſpicion of treaſon in the Duke might be taken away, and prouiſion made for the ſafetie of the Queene of* England, *if onely ſhee would embrace or tolerate the Romiſh Religion, and conſent to the mariage of the Queene of* Scotland *with the Duke.*

The

The Duke gaue eare to theſe things as likely, but yet refuſed to ſubſcribe vnto the letters of credit (as they call them) which *Ridolph*, being ready to depart, ſhewed vnto him. Neither would he heare the aduice of *Roſſe*, which hee had long ſtudied, and put into his head by *Barker*; namely, *that the Duke with a ſelected companie of Noblemen, to take the Queene ſuddenly, and to diſturbe the Parlament, and by this meanes the mariage with the Queene of* Scotland *might bee finiſhed, and the Romiſh Religion ſet in better ſtate in* England, *without any great ſtirre, and without any forraine aid: Which might eaſily be done, hauing ſo many Noblemen ready and prompt to enter into this action, as could not bee aſſembled againe in one place without ſuſpicion. And iuſt cauſe there was, for that the Duke was kept long in priſon againſt the Lawes of the Realme, and not admitted into the Parlament; and alſo for that more rigorous Lawes were deuiſed againſt the Papiſts. And to doe this hee brought in the example of* Caſtrutio *in* Italy, *and others, who by ſudden actions had proſperouſly effected great matters; and how fiue Noblemen in* Scotland, *very lately, had diſturbed the Parlament wherein* Murrey *was to bee attainted, and gotten the Queene into their hands.*

This aduice the Duke (who was out of his inbred good nature farre from any villanie) deteſted and diſliked, as pernicious and dangerous. But about the ſame time, *Henry Percy* offered his ſeruice vnto *Roſſe*, for to deliuer the Queene of *Scotland* out of priſon; ſo that *Grange* and *Carre* of *Ferniherſt* would receiue her at the borders of *Scotland*, and his brother the Earle of *Northumberland* might bee deliuered out of *Scotland*. But when his credit was ſuſpected, becauſe of his priuate familiaritie with *Burghley*, and alſo he delaied the matter very long, that plot came to nothing: (For the which, vpon his ſubmiſſion hee was notwithſtanding

fined in the Star-chamber at fiue thouſand Markes, which neuertheleſſe the Queene pardoned.) As alſo the plot of *Powell* of *Sandford*, one of the Penſioners, and of *Owen*, a Gentleman belonging to the Earle of *Arundell*, who intended to aduenture vpon the ſame action, but that *Roſſe* did inhibit and hinder them, as not able to performe ſo great an attempt, ſince they were not men of that abilitie and meanes.

Yet did many *Engliſh* men haſten the mariage betweene the Queene of *Scotland* and the Duke of *Norfolke* as much as they could; for they had by their perſwaſions brought him to thinke of the mariage with her againe, contrarie to the promiſe he had made, which was firſt found out by theſe meanes.

Ridolph the *Florentine* (whom wee haue ſpoken of) being ſent ouer Sea into forraine Countries, to deale in the Queene of *Scotlands* buſineſſe, had acquainted *Charles Bailiffe* a *Flemming*, ſeruant to the Queene of *Scotland*, with all his ſpeeches with the Duke of *Alua*, and had deliuered vnto him letters in Ciphers vnto her, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour, *Norfolke*, *Roſſe*, and the Lord *Lumley*, all put in one Packet, which *Bailiffe* brought ouer with him, though *Roſſe* had bidden him to leaue them with the Captaine of *Calice* to bee ſent ouer. But as ſoone as hee arriued in *Douer* Hauen, hee was apprehended and put in priſon; but his Packet of letters was ſent to the Lord *Cobham* Warden of the Cinque-ports; which things *Roſſe* knew with the firſt, and dealt ſo diligently and craftily with *Cobham* (who was not ignorant of the *Dukes* counſell) that that Packet was deliuered vnto him, and another with other old letters wrapped vp, was deliuered vnto the priuie Councellors: And this was alſo ſignified vnto *Bailiffe*. Yet hee being vpon the Racke, confeſſed ſome things, and amongſt other, that a Packet of letters came to the hands

hands of *Rosse*. This came to the knowledge of *Rosse* also, who forthwith very wisely sent away *Cuthbert* his Secretarie, and laid aside his Ciphers and priuie Characters, with other things which might bring trouble, at his friends houses; so that when *Sussex*, *Burghley*, *Mildmay* and *Sadleir*, searched his house most narrowly, they found nothing, nor could wring nothing out of him with interrogations; who stood vpon it still, that an Embassadour was not to be compelled to yeeld reasons and make answers to any but his owne Prince. Yet on the next day *Rosse* was deliuered to the Bishop of *Ely* to keepe, and shortly after hee was sent into the Ile of *Ely*. Also Sir *Thomas Stanley*, Sir *Thomas Gerard* Knights, and *Rolston* (of whom I haue spoken) were sent to the Tower of *London*. And *Henry Howard* (who had sued to the Archbishop of *Yorke*) vpon suspicion, was committed to the keeping of the Archbishop of *Canterburie*.

About the same time, the Queene of *Scotland* had sent a certaine summe of mony vnto the *French* Embassadour, for her friends in *Scotland*; hee deliuered it vnto *Barker* and *Higford*, who acquainting the Duke with the matter, deliuered it to one *Browne* a Citizen of *Shrewsburie*, a retainer of the Dukes, to bee carried by *Banister* and *Lander* into *Scotland*, vnto the Lord *Herris*. *Browne* being suspicious, when he perceiued by the weight, that they had deliuered the money in gold, and not in siluer; he deliuered it and the letters to the priuie Councellors. Herein the wiser sort did obserue, that this was the first time that the Duke did commit treason, in that he had giuen aid vnto *Herris* and the *Scots*, proclaimed enemies, who had depopulated the *English* borders. Hereupon *Higford* was cast into prison, who forthwith did voluntarily confesse all the matter concerning the money; and withall he told them in what places

places he had hidden the letters, Ciphers and the Commentarie of the Queene of *Scotland* (I mentioned) vnder the Matt, and in the tiles.

The Queene of *Scotland* diſcourſed in this Commentarie theſe things at large. *The* French *King allowed the conference appointed with the* Scots, *and that they propoſed the mariage of* Anjeou *with Queene* ELIZABETH, *for no other purpoſe, but that they might with the better colour denie their aid promiſed to reſtore her: That they ſecretly ſought to hinder her mariage with* Don Iohn d'Auſtria, *and that they fauoured exceedingly the mariage with* Norfolke (*vpon malice to the* Spaniard:) *That the Duke of* Alba *did diſallow the purpoſe of ſending backe the Queene of* Scotland *into* Scotland, *ſo much that he thought thereby would bee wrought not onely the vtter deſtruction of the Queene, but alſo of the Romiſh Religion in all Britaine; becauſe that the Queene returned into* Scotland *ſhould be in danger of ſiege, or elſe of neceſsitie put to the aduenture of a battell with the Rebels, who may eaſily get her into their hands, by the helpe of the* Engliſh *men, before forraine aid could come to helpe her. Therefore ſince ſhe cannot be in ſafetie in* Scotland, *and no hope of helpe was likely to be out of* France, *turmoiled with ciuill warres, the moſt conuenient courſe ſeemed for her, to reſort for ſuccour vnto the King of* Spaine, *who had offered to marry her vnto* Don Iohn d'Auſtria, *which yet ſhe would refuſe, vpon condition that the Romiſh Religion might be reſtored in* Britaine, *by* Norfolke. *And alſo that her ſonne might ſpeedily be conueyed out of* Scotland, *and ſent into* Spaine; *for ſo hee might bee kept in ſafetie, inſtructed in his tender yeeres in the Romiſh Religion, and withall, all pretext taken from the* Scots, *who vſe his authoritie and name to countenance their rebellion. For the working of theſe things, and the procuring of forraine aid,* Ridolph *was with ſpeed to bee ſent away, and admoniſhed ſecretly*

ſecretly to keepe theſe things from the French *King by all meanes.*

When the priuie Councellors had receiued this Commentarie, the letters I ſpake of, and others ſent from the Pope, and *Barker* being taken, had confeſſed all theſe things; Sir *Ralph Sadleir* was commanded to watch the Dukes houſe (at the *Charter-houſe* in *London*) with a band of Souldiers. The next day the Duke himſelfe being examined (not knowing what his ſeruants had confeſſed, and thinking that the Commentarie had beene burned and the letters alſo) denied all things ſtoutly: a day or two after, namely, on the ſeuenth day of September, he was conueyed to the Tower of *London* againe, by Sir *Ralph Sadleir*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Sir *Henry Neuill*, and Doctor *Wilſon*. And then *Baniſter*, who was the Dukes Lawyer, and the Earles of *Arundell* and *Southampton*, the Lords *Lumley*, and *Cobham*, and *Thomas* his brother, *Henry Percie*, *Lowder*, *Powell*, *Goodyeere*, and others were put in priſon, who euery one in hope of pardon, told all they knew.

As ſoone as the Commiſſioners ſhewed to him the confeſſions of theſe men, the letters of the Queene of *Scotland*, and of *Roſſe*, with the Commentarie, hee was aſtonied; but beholding the Commentarie with the letters which he thought had beene burned, hee brake out into theſe words: *I am betraied and vndone by my ſeruants, becauſe I knew not how to diſtruſt, which is the ſinew of wiſdome.* But hee beſought the Commiſſioners very humbly to ſpeake vnto the Queene in his behalfe, promiſing that hee would hide nothing that hee knew; and ſolemnly proteſting that hee approued nothing which might haue beene wrong vnto the Queene, or detriment vnto the Realme; yea, that hee vtterly condemned the purpoſes and plots to ſurprize the Queene and the Tower of *London*, and to ſet free the

the Queene of *Scotland*; and that hee neuer had a thought to bring in any forraine forces, but onely to ſuppreſſe the *Scots* that rebelled againſt the Queene. The ſame day, being examined of fiftie Articles, more or leſſe, he concealed nothing. Then all the courſe of the buſineſſe was laid downe and declared in the *Star*-chamber, a great aſſembly of Noblemen, the Maior and Aldermen of *London* being preſent, and afterwards to all the Citizens in the Guild-hall, by *William Fleetwood* the Recorder.

But when the Biſhop of *Roſſe* was accuſed by the confeſſion of euery one of them, and by the Duke himſelfe alſo, as the contriuer of the buſineſſe, a ſerious conſultation was had, what was to be done with him, that was an Embaſſadour. For he whiles he thought it lawful for him (as ſuch kinde of men vſe to doe) to aduance the affaires of his Prince by any manner of meanes, and not to be brought in queſtion of law vpon the inuiolable priuilege of Embaſſadours in a ſtrange Court, had done many things long ſince turbulently, in kindling a commotion, and hauing nightly conferences with the Earle of *Southampton* and others, and now againe with the *Engliſh* fugitiues in the Low-Countries, the Duke of *Alba*, the King of *Spaine*, and the Pope, about the inuaſion of *England*: Therefore the cauſe was put to *Dauid Lewis*, *Valentine Dale*, *William Aubrey*, and *Henry Iones* Doctors of the Ciuill Law.

1 *Firſt, whether an Embaſſadour that raiſeth or procureth rebellion againſt a Prince vnto whom he is Embaſſadour, may enioy the priuileges of an Embaſſadour, and not be ſubiect to puniſhment as an enemie?*

They anſwered; Such an Embaſſadour by the law of Nations, and ciuill Law of the *Romans*, hath loſt all the priuileges of an Embaſſadour, and was ſubiect to puniſhment.

2 *Secondly,*

2 *Secondly, whether an Agent of a Prince, who is depriued by publike authoritie, and in whose place another is crowned, may enioy the priuilege of an Embassadour?*

They answered; If such a Prince be lawfully depriued, his Agent cannot challenge the priuilege of an Embassadour, since none but they which haue the rights of an absolute Prince can appoint Embassadours.

3 *Thirdly, whether a Prince who shall come into the Kingdome of another Prince, and bee kept in prison, may haue his Agent; and whether he be to be accounted an Embassadour?*

They answered; If such a Prince who shall come into the Kingdome of another Prince, and bee kept in prison, hath not lost his principalitie, hee may haue an Agent; but whether that Procurator may be reputed an Embassadour, that dependeth on the authoritie of his Commission or delegation.

4 *Fourthly, whether if any such Prince doe denounce & tell to such an Agent and Prince being in prison, That this Procurator shall bee accounted no longer for an Embassadour; whether this Procurator by the Law may challenge the priuileges of an Embassadour?*

They answered, The Prince may forbid the Embassadour, that he doe not come into the Realme, and command him to depart out of the Realme, if hee doe not containe himselfe within the bounds prescribed vnto an Embassadour; yet in the meane time hee may vse and enioy the priuileges of an Embassadour, according to the authoritie giuen him by his Commission.

After these answers of the learned Lawyers, *Rosse* being brought backe out of the Isle of *Ely*, was sharply rebuked and told by the Councellors, that hee was no more to be acknowledged for an Embassadour, but as a

plotter of treaſons to be ſeuerely puniſhed. He anſwered, *That he is the Embaſſadour of an abſolute Queene vniuſtly depriued; That hee had dealt diligently according to his place and dutie, for the libertie of his Prince, and the good of both the Kingdomes; That he came into* England *with a ſufficient authoritie (which hee ſhewed) with the moſt ample authoritie of an Embaſſadour; and that the ſacred rights and priuileges of Embaſſadours are not to bee violated by any meanes. Burghley* told him in diſcreet words, that neither the priuileges of Embaſſage, nor letters of publike credit did protect Embaſſadours who offend againſt the publike Maieſtie of the Prince, but that they are ſubiect to puniſhment; otherwiſe it might bee lawfull for wicked minded Embaſſadours to attempt any thing againſt the liues of Princes. Hee on the other ſide ſtood ſtill in it, that the rights and priuileges of Embaſſadours were neuer violated *by the courſe of Law*, but (that I may vſe his owne words) *by the way of fact*: and bitingly willed them not to vſe him with more rigour, than was vſed to the *Engliſh* Embaſſadour *Throgmorton* in *France*, and to *Tamworth* and *Randolph* in *Scotland*, who had raiſed ſedition, and openly maintained it; and had not any other puniſhment, but onely were commanded to depart within a time appointed. When they vrged him with the teſtimonies of *Engliſh* men, he with faire words requeſted them not to doe ſo, ſince it was a long receiued cuſtome, which was growne to a Law (as hee ſaid) *That the teſtimonie of a* Scot *againſt an* Engliſh *man, and of an* Engliſh *man againſt a* Scot *was not to bee receiued.* After much altercation, whether this was to bee allowed, but onely betweene the Borderers of both the Kingdomes, and that alſo in matters of the borders; and then whether the *Engliſh* Embaſſadors had raiſed and foſtered rebellions; *Roſſe* was committed to the Tower of

London,

London, where he was kept very close, and answered in briefe to all the interrogatories, with that caution and warinesse, that his answers could hurt no body. Hee excused the Queene of *Scotland*, that she being a prisoner, and in her best time and age, could not but seeke all the meanes she could of libertie, since Queene ELIZABETH excluded her from all accesse vnto her, put her out of all hope of her libertie, and openly maintained her aduersaries. He excused the Duke, that he had dealt nothing in the mariage with the Queene of *Scotland*, but with the consent of most of the Queenes Councell; neither that he could leaue her (though hee had promised so to doe vnder his hand) for that there had passed a mutuall repromission of future mariage betweene them before that time. Lastly, he excused himselfe, that he being an Embassador, could not without a great offence depart from his dutie, and abandon his soueraigne Princesse in her affliction and aduersitie; and that hee propounded the taking of Queene ELIZABETH for no other cause, but to trie the Dukes minde, whether hee stood constant and resolute. But the crimes of the other he wittily extenuated, and by no meanes he could be induced to tell the names of the Noblemen that promised to helpe the Duke to surprize the Queene; But he confessed that he by the commandement of the Queene of *Scotland*, did aske aduice of the Duke, *Arundell*, *Lumley*, and *Throgmorton*, by their seruants that came to and fro, and the Vicount *Mountague* by *Lumley*, about the deliuerie of the Castles in *Scotland*, the hostages, the deliuerie of the King of *Scotland* vnto the *English* men, and the restoring of the *English* Rebels. Thus much of these matters this yeere, out of the Dukes confessions, and the Commentarie of *Rosse* himselfe, written with his owne hand, sent to the Queene of *Scotland*.

Matthew Earle of *Lennox*, Regent of *Scotland*, Grandfather to the King, had ſummoned an aſſembly of the Eſtates at *Sterling*, in the Kings name, where liuing ſecurely, he was taken on the ſudden by the Noblemen of the contrarie faction, who held a Parlament at *Edenburgh* at the ſame time in the Queenes name. He had yeelded himſelfe to *Dauid Spenſe* of *Wormeſton*, who labouring diligently to ſaue his life, was ſlaine, together with the Regent (who had gouerned the Realme for the King his Grandchild but foureteene moneths) by *Bell* and *Caulder*. In his place was ſubſtituted by the voices of the Kings faction, *Iohn Areskin* Earle of *Marre*, who died after hee had beene Regent but thirteene moneths.

Theſe dangerous times produced in the Parlament holden in *England* this Law: It was made treaſon, *if any attempted any harme or hurt, made warre, or moued any other to raiſe warre againſt the Queene: If any affirmed that ſhe poſſeſſed not the Crowne rightfully, but that others had more right to the Crowne, or did ſay that ſhee was an Heretike, Schiſmatike or Infidell; did vſurpe the right of the Kingdome during her life, or ſhall ſay, that any other hath right to the Crowne, or that the Lawes and Statutes cannot define and binde the right of the Crowne, and the ſucceßion of the ſame. If any in the Queenes life, by written or printed booke expreſly affirme, that any is or ought to be heire or ſucceſſor of the Queene, beſides* the naturall iſſue of her owne body; *or ſhall print or ſell any bookes or ſchedules to that effect; hee and his fautors for the firſt time ſhall be impriſoned a whole yeere, and loſe halfe his goods; and for the ſecond offence, incurre Premunire, that is, to loſe all his goods, and lie in priſon for euer.*

This ſeemed ſomewhat ſeuere vnto many who were of opinion, that the tranquillitie of the Realme would bee eſtabliſhed by the deſignation of a certaine heire.

But

But it is wonderfull what ieſts ſome lewd conſtruers of words, made of that clauſe, *Beſides the naturall iſſue of her body*; ſince the Lawyers call them *Naturall* that are borne out of matrimonie, but the legitimate they call out of the forme of words vſed in the Law of *England*, *Children of his body lawfully begotten*; inſomuch, that being a young man, I heard it often ſaid, that that word was thruſt into the Act by *Leiceſter*, to the intent that hee might at one time or other, thruſt vpon them, againſt their wills, ſome Baſtard ſonne of his, as the naturall iſſue of the Queene.

An Act was made alſo at this Parlament, that it ſhould bee treaſon in them, who reconciled any to the Church of *Rome*, by any Bulls or Reſcripts of the Popes, or any that were reconciled: they that releeued the reconcilers, or brought in any *Agnus Dei*, *Grana*, *Crucifixes*, or other things conſecrated by the Pope, into *England*, ſhould incurre the penaltie of Premunire. And that it ſhould bee miſpriſion of treaſon in them, that did not diſcouer their reconcilers.

It was moued in the ſame Parlament, that if the Queene of *Scotland* did offend againe againſt the Lawes of *England*, that they might proceed againſt her, according to the Law, as againſt the wife of a Peere of the Kingdome of *England*: but the Queene would not ſuffer it to paſſe.

Anno

Anno 1572.

ON the ſixteenth day of Ianuarie, *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolke* was arraigned at *Weſtminſter* Hall, before *George Talbot* Earle of *Shrewsburie*, appointed for that day Lord high *Steward* of *England*; and on both ſides of him ſate the Peeres, namely, *Reynold Grey* Earle of *Kent*, *Thomas Ratclif* Earle of *Suſſex*, *Henry Haſtings* Earle of *Huntingdon*, *Francis Ruſſell* Earle of *Bedford*, *Henry Herbert* Earle of *Pembrooke*, *Edward Seymer* Earle of *Hertford*, *Ambroſe Dudley* Earle of *Warwicke*, *Robert Dudley* Earle of *Leiceſter*, *Walter Deuereux* Viſcount *Hereford*, *Edward Clinton* Admirall, *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham* Chamberlaine, *William Cecill* Lord *Burghley* Secretarie, *Arthur* Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, *Iames Blount* Lord *Mountioy*, *William* Lord *Sands*, *Thomas* Lord *Wentworth*, *William* Lord *Burrough*, *Lewis* Lord *Mordant*, *Iohn Powlet* Lord *Saint-Iohn* of *Baſing*, *Robert* Lord *Rich*, *Roger* Lord *North*, *Edmund Bruges* Lord *Chandois*, *Oliuer* Lord *Saint-Iohn* of *Bletneſhoo*, *Thomas Sackuill* Lord *Buckhurſt*, and *William Weſt* Lord *De La-ware*.

Silence being made, the Letters Patents of the Commiſſion was read; then a white wand was deliuered vnto the Lord *Steward*, by *Garter* King at Armes, which hee ſhortly after deliuered vnto the Serieant at Armes, who ſtood by and held it vp all the while. Then the Earles and Barons were called by their names, and euery one made anſwer to his name. Then ſilence was made againe, and the Lieutenant of the Tower was commanded to returne his precept, and to bring the Duke

Duke to the Barre. Forthwith he was brought in, and Sir *Owen Hopton* ſtood on the one ſide of him, and Sir *Peter Carew* on the other ſide; and next by him ſtood a man holding an Axe, with the edge from the Duke: Silence being made againe, the Clerke of the Crowne ſaid thus to the Duke; *Thomas Duke of Norfolke late of Keningale, in the Countie of Norfolke, hold vp thy hand:* (which when hee had done, the Clerke read the Inditement with a loud voice, that is to ſay, That in the eleuenth yeere of Queene ELIZABETH and after, the Duke did traiterouſly deuiſe to put her from her Crowne, and to kill her, and to raiſe warre againſt her, and to bring in forraine forces to inuade the Realme. That whereas he knew MARIE late Queene of *Scotland* to haue claimed the Diadem of *England*, with the title and armes thereof, yet hee without the Queenes knowledge intended to marrie with her, and lent her a great ſumme of money, contrarie to the promiſe he had made vnder his owne hand. That whereas he knew the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmerland*, *Markenfield*, and others, had raiſed rebellion againſt the Queene, and were fled into *Scotland*, he releeued them with money. That in the thirteenth yeere of the Queene, hee by letters requeſted aid of men from Pope *Pius Quintus*, the profeſſed enemie of the Queene, the King of *Spaine*, and the Duke of *Alba*, to deliuer the Queene of *Scotland*, and to reſtore Papiſtrie into *England*. Laſtly, that hee gaue aid vnto *Herris* a *Scot*, and other enemies of the Queene in *Scotland*. This being read, the Clerke asked the Duke, whether hee were guiltie of theſe crimes or no?

He beſought, that if it were lawfull by the Law, he might haue a Lawyer appointed him to defend or pleade his cauſe. *Catlin* Chiefe Iuſtice anſwered, that it was not lawfull. The Duke ſaid; *It is meet that I ſubmit my*

my ſelfe to the opinion of the Iudges; but there bee many darke and obſcure points in this buſineſſe; neither vnderſtood I of my arraignment till within this foureteene houres; I was kept from bookes; now I ſee, I am to fight for my life without weapons: Yet I haue heard, that a Lawyer was aſſigned vnto Humfrey Stafford *in a caſe of treaſon, in the reigne of* Henry *the ſeuenth. Dier* chiefe Iuſtice of the Common pleas anſwered, that a Lawyer was aſſigned vnto *Stafford* about the priuilege of the Sanctuarie, from whence he was taken away by force, and that he anſwered for himſelfe without a Lawyer for the treaſon. The Duke ſaid, *I muſt ſpeake this day for my life, my goods, for my children, and that which is moſt to bee reſpected, for my loyaltie and honeſtie (let honour goe by:) yet let me aske one queſtion; Whether that the enumeration of the crimes muſt be holden for true in euery part, and to which part I muſt anſwer? Catlin* ſaid, When the cauſes be true, the enumeration is alſo to be accounted true. *I doe deſire to be told* (ſaid the Duke) *whether euery ſingular thing bee treaſon; For I haue heard in the cauſe of the Lord* Scroope, *in the reigne of* Henry *the fourth.* As hee would haue ſaid more, the Clerke of the Crowne interrupted him, ſpeaking aloud; *Thomas Duke of Norfolke, art thou guiltie, or not guiltie?* He ſaid, *Not guiltie.* The Clerke asked him againe; *How wilt thou betried? I commend* (ſaid he) *my cauſe to God and to my Peeres: The hainouſneſſe of my crimes woundeth my heart, but the benignitie of her Maieſtie from whom I could expect no more, doth recomfort me: and I beſeech you, my Lord Steward, that I may bee dealt withall according to Law, and that my memorie, which is ſlipperie, may not be oppreſt with the confuſed varietie of things. That I haue you my Peeres and Iudges, I acknowledge my ſelfe happy; for vnto many of your integrities I would willingly commit my life. I truſting vnto mine innocencie did not flie: but yet I cannot but ingenuoſly confeſſe,*

feſſe, that I haue tranſgreſſed againſt the Queene, but in no treaſon. I beſeech you let not thoſe things of ſmaller moment be put amongſt the other of treaſon.

Then ſaid *Barham* the Queenes Serieant at law; The crimes of treaſon whereof thou art indicted are theſe: Thou didſt deuiſe to depriue the Queene of her Realme and of her life: Thou didſt intend to marrie with the Queene of *Scotland*: Thou didſt ſend for forraine power to inuade the Realme: Thou gaueſt maintenance vnto the Rebels, and didſt helpe the *Scots*, enemies to the Queene. The Duke interrupted him, ſaying, *Barham, I pray you doe not aggrauate the matter with words, in obiecting the mariage and other things which be not treaſon.* *Barham* turning to the Noblemen, vrged the matter, ſaying; He that would marrie her that claimeth the Kingdome, the ſame man deſireth and ſeeketh after the Kingdome; but this the Duke began when he was one of the Commiſſioners at *Yorke*, to heare the cauſe of the Queene of *Scotland*; at which time hee was ſworne to weigh indifferently and vprightly the accuſations and defences on both ſides. The Duke ſaid; *That cauſe hath ſundry parts, which bee without the compaſſe of treaſon.* The Steward of *England* bade the Duke not to vſe ſuch digreſſions from the purpoſe, who when *Barham* ſtill vrged it with a loud voice, hee acknowledged that the Queene of *Scotland* had claimed the Realme of *England* as due to her, but that ſhee had giuen ouer the claime long ſince.

Barham to the contrarie ſhewed how ſhe had not left off the claime, becauſe ſhe had not yet made a releaſe or renunciation thereof; and hee accuſed the Duke hainouſly that he taught the Delegates of *Scotland* what to ſay; and this out of the confeſſion of the Biſhop of *Roſſe*. The Duke confeſſed that *Lidington* moued the mariage vnto him, and that hee refuſed it, and that hee

told them nothing; and requeſted that the Biſhop of *Roſſe* might be produced before him.

Then did *Barham* proſecute at large many things which I haue mentioned before, to proue that the Duke did vnmeaſurably deſire the Kingdome: and ſtood much vpon this point; What other thing could the Duke propoſe vnto himſelfe in his minde, without the priuitie of the Queene, to marrie the Queene of *Scotland*, a woman without goods, without Kingdome (her ſonne being now eſtabliſhed in the Realme of *Scotland*) but that hee might get by her meanes or right the Kingdome of *England*, and conſequently depriue the Queene of her life and Kingdome? The Duke ſaid; *Theſe things are farre fetcht to conuince me to haue imagined the depriuation and deſtruction of the Queene.* I will come neerer, ſaid *Barham*: It is not vnknowne that you deuiſed with others, to ſurprize the Tower of *London* (which is the chiefeſt hold of *England*,) ſo that it is of neceſſitie that you then compaſſed the deſtruction of the Queene, ſince Kingdomes cannot endure to haue a partner. The Duke denied not, that one *Hopton* put into his head, the ſurprizing of the Tower, yet that he reiected the ſame: Why then, ſaid *Barham*, didſt thou aske the Earle of *Pembrookes* aduice, who diſſwaded thee?

Barham went on, and vrged him, that when the Queene requeſted of the Infant King of *Scotland* certaine Caſtles, and the *Engliſh* Rebels out of *Scotland* to bee deliuered; the Duke ſecretly willed the *Scots* not to conſent thereunto. He accuſed him alſo, that he attempted priuily to ſteale away the Queene of *Scotland* out of priſon: And this was after hee had ſolemnly promiſed to meddle or deale with her no more.

Then *Candiſh* was brought in witneſſe againſt him; that the Duke had a reſolute purpoſe to marrie her, and that

that hee asked him if hee could draw his Vncle to his ſide, if Queene *Elizabeth* died. The Duke vtterly denied theſe things, and reiected his teſtimonie, as of a needy man, and a childiſh witneſſe. Moreouer, it was ſhewed, that the Duke ſent ſecretly his man to the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmerland*, to aduiſe them not to riſe in rebellion, as a thing that would proue very dangerous. Alſo the letters of the Queene of *Scotland* were ſhewed, wherein ſhee lamented that *Northumberland* was intercepted before hee was ready to riſe. (For this flying newes was brought to her, perchance of ſet purpoſe.)

To theſe things the Duke anſwered: *Theſe reaſons doe not probably proue, that he compaſſed the deſtruction of the Queene, and that nothing yet brought againſt him, was of any moment, but onely the teſtimonie of the Biſhop of* Roſſe; *neither was this to be receiued, ſince he was a forrainer, citing the authoritie of* Bracton, *the moſt learned Lawyer of our Land; that he neuer made ſuch reckoning of* Northumberland *and* Weſtmerland, *that hee would put his life into their hands: he relied (he ſaid) and truſted ſo much vnto his innocencie, that hee had neuer ſo much as a thought to flie.*

Gerard the Queenes Atturney ſaid; It is moſt apparant that he did purpoſely intend to marrie the Queene of *Scotland* to worke the Queenes deſtruction: It is alſo apparant, that he did aduiſedly conſult of inuading the Realme, by the letters vnto the Pope, the King of *Spaine*, and the Duke of *Alba*. All his dealings with *Ridolph* are now well knowne, by the ſecret Ciphers and Characticall notes hidden vnder the tiles of *Howard* houſe; alſo by the letters (which hee commanded to bee burned) found in the Matts in the entrie of the chamber; and all theſe things may bee proued out of the examinations of them who were not terrified

with torments, nor attainted of treaſon. To theſe matters the Duke ſaid; *Of the conſultations of the Pope and the King of* Spaine, *I was neither author nor fautor; yea, I alwaies diſliked them. Let them bee puniſhed that committed the fault, and let them not charge mee, to excuſe themſelues.*

Furthermore *Gerard* accuſed the Duke, that hee talked with *Ridolph* of the landing of ten thouſand Souldiers out of *Flanders* at *Harwich*, a Hauen in *Eſſex*; and this out of the examination of *Barker*: And alſo that letters were written and ſent by *Ridolph* vnto the King of *Spaine*, and the Duke of *Alba*, vnto which, although the Duke did not ſubſcribe, yet that hee ſent by the counſell of *Roſſe*, *Barker* his Secretarie vnto the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour, who ſhould aſſure them that they were his very letters. The Duke ſaid; *My memorie faileth me, neither can it call to minde ſuch intricate varietie of matters. You Lawyers haue your briefe notes, I am put to anſwer* ex tempore. *This is alſo improbable, that I ſhould deale with the Pope, vnto whoſe Religion I was alwaies an aduerſarie. I had rather be pulled in peeces by horſes, than reuolt from the Religion I profeſſe. The ſituation of* Harwich *doth eaſily confute all this accuſation. Who ſeeth not, how hard a matter it is to bring an armie thorow that Countrie, which is all encloſed, and moſt troubleſome, with narrow waies? If I had imagined to make warre againſt my Prince, I ſhould doubtleſſe haue furniſhed my ſelfe with Armour; but in theſe whole ten yeeres, I haue not bought any more than eight Corſlets, and no Gun-powder at all; I would neuer haue committed ſuch letters vnto* Barkers *fidelitie, but rather vnto* Baniſter, *whom I eſteemed aboue many* Barkers.

Now were brought forth the letters of the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, ſent out of priſon vnto the Queene of *Scotland*, and intercepted; out of which the former things were confirmed.

confirmed. The Duke required to ſee the letters; for he ſeemed to doubt that they were counterfeit. But the Lord Steward ſaid, Doubt not, they bee written with *Roſſes* owne hand. Another ſhort letter written with Oker by the Duke, commanding his man to burne a bundle of letters hidden in a certaine place, and to lay the fault vpon *Roſſe*, who might eaſily auoid the Law, by the priuilege of an Embaſſadour, was alſo ſhewed: To theſe letters the Duke ſaid; *I being certified, that it was diuulged amongſt the common people, that I had accuſed many; I anſwered in that ſhort letter; and when I ſaw all places to be narrowly ſearched, I commanded that bundle to be burned, that I might keepe many men from trouble.*

Bromley the Queenes Sollicitor, ſhewed the letters of *Ridolph*, wherein hee ſignified, that the Duke of *Alba* approued their purpoſe; and alſo the Popes letters vnto the Duke, dated the tenth day of May. Then *Wilbraham* made an eloquent ſpeech of the credit of the teſtimonies of the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, and of the Dukes ſeruants. Vnto which the Duke ſaid; *I haue not the skill to refell ſo poliſhed and ornate a ſpeech, yet the Orator as skilfull as he is, for all that, left out what the force of feare is, which oftentimes quaileth and daunteth a good courage; and againe he commended and vrged* Bracton *againſt the credit of forraine witneſſes.* *Catlin* chiefe Iuſtice made anſwer: In ſuch cauſes as theſe, the teſtimonies of forrainers are allowable, and that it was in the will of the Peeres to giue credit or diſallow ſuch teſtimonies.

Now they were come to proue that the Duke had releeued the Rebels after they were fled, which appeared out of the letters of the Counteſſe of *Northumberland*, in which ſhe gaue thanks to the Duke for the money ſecretly ſent vnto her and her husband. As concerning the laſt obiection, about the releeuing the *Scots*, enemies to the Queene, was proued out of the Dukes letters

letters to *Baniſter*, out of the confeſſion of *Baniſter*, and the money deliuered vnto *Browne* of *Shrewsburie*. Here the Duke asked the Iudges, *Whether the ſubiects of another Prince confederate with the Queene, may bee accounted enemies to the Queene? Catlin* anſwered, they might; and that the Queene of *England* may make warre with ſome Duke of *France*, and yet at the ſame time be in amitie with the King of *France*.

When now it drew toward night, the Lord Steward asked the Duke what hee had more to ſay for himſelfe? He anſwered; *I put my truſt in the equitie of the Lawes.* The Lord Steward commanded the Lieutenant of the Tower to take the Duke aſide; and then ſilence being made, he turned vnto the Peeres, and ſaid: *You haue heard how* Thomas *Duke of* Norfolke *hath beene indited of high treaſon, who hath pleaded not guiltie, and put himſelfe vnto God and to you; therefore it is your part, to conſider among you, whether he be guiltie or no, and to declare your opinion according to your conſcience, and vpon your honour:* and withall, he bade them to goe aſide, and to conſult one with another. After a little time, they returned vnto their places: Then the Steward beginning at the loweſt, ſaid: My Lord *De La-ware*, is *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke* guiltie of the crimes of high treaſon, whereof he is indited, or not guiltie? He riſing vp, laying his hand on his breaſt, ſaid, Guiltie. In like manner were each one asked in their order. Then was the Duke brought againe to the Barre, vnto whom the Lord Steward ſpake in this manner: Thomas *Duke of* Norfolke, *thou haſt beene indited of ſundry high treaſons; and put thy ſelfe to bee tried by God and thy Peeres, who haue found thee guiltie; haſt thou any thing to ſay why iudgement ſhould not be giuen againſt thee?* Hee anſwered, *The will of God (who will iudge betweene mee and my falſe accuſers) be done.*

All

All men now keeping ſilence, the edge of the Axe was turned towards him: Then *Barham* for the Queene requeſted the Lord Steward to giue iudgement; which he (weeping) did, in theſe formall words: *Foraſmuch as thou* Thomas *Duke of* Norfolke *haſt beene indited of high treaſon, and haſt pleaded not guiltie, and haſt put thy ſelfe vpon thy Peeres, who haue found thee guiltie; therefore this Bench doth adiudge that thou ſhalt bee lead backe from hence vnto the Tower (from whence thou cameſt) and from thence laid on a Hurdle, ſhalt be drawne vnto the place of execution, and there to bee hanged, cut downe aliue, to bee bowelled, thy head cut off, thy body to bee diuided into foure quarters, thy head and thy quarters to bee diſpoſed of at the Queenes pleaſure: And ſo our Lord haue mercie on thy ſoule.* The Duke hearing this iudgement, ſaid with a good courage; *Iudgement is giuen againſt mee, as againſt a Traitor; I truſt in God, that excluded from your fellowſhip, I ſhall enioy the celeſtiall fellowſhip; I will prepare my ſelfe to die; I requeſt this one thing, that the Queene would bee good to my children and ſeruants, and ſee my debts paid.*

A few daies after *Barney* and *Mather* were executed, who conſpired with *Herle* a *Ruffian*, to kill ſome of the priuie Councellors, and to deliuer the Duke: But *Herle* preſently diſcouered the matter, vnto whom *Barney* ſaid ſmiling (when hee ſaw him brought forth to giue euidence againſt him) Herle *thou wenteſt but one houre before me, otherwiſe I had ſtood there in thy place to giue euidence, and thou hadſt ſtood here in my place to be hanged.* Theſe plots and the like, which were many, were taken hold of to haſten the Dukes death, which yet was ſtaied and deferred for foure moneths. But on the ſecond day of Iune, at eight of the clocke in the morning, the Duke was lead vnto a Scaffold new builded on the Tower-hill; and when hee was gone vp, and

Alexander

Alexander Nowel Deane of *Pauls* (who was there to comfort him) had required the people to be ſilent; hee ſaid, *It is no ſtrange thing for men to ſuffer death in this place, although I am the firſt ſince the Queenes reigne, God grant I may be the laſt,* (the people ſaid aloud, *Amen*) Then (to ſet downe compendiouſly that which I heard him ſpeake more at large) hee ſaid; *I acknowledge that my Peeres haue iuſtly found me guiltie, neither purpoſe I to excuſe my ſelfe; I doe ingenuouſly confeſſe, that I haue dealt with the Queene of* Scotland *in weightie and important buſineſſe, without the knowledge of my Queene, which I ought not to haue done, for the which I was impriſoned. But being let out when I had ſubmitted my ſelfe, and giuen my word, that I would not haue any more to doe with her; yet I confeſſe I haue had, and that troubleth my conſcience: But I neither promiſed nor ſware it at the Lords table (as the cõmon report is;) I talked once with* Ridolph, *but nothing to the hurt of the Queene; for very many know, that I had reckonings and accounts about money with him vpon bands. I found him to enuie the tranquillitie of* England, *and to be very ſharpe witted to deuiſe miſchiefe; I ſaw two letters from the Pope, vnto which I aſſented not; neither did I to the rebellion in the North; I was neuer Papiſt: euer ſince I had any taſte of Religion, I embraced the true Religion, and put all my truſt in the bloud of Chriſt my Redeemer and Sauiour: Yet I cannot denie, but I had ſome ſeruants and familiar friends which were addicted vnto the Pope; if I haue ſinned againſt God, the Church or Proteſtants therein, I humbly deſire God and them to forgiue me.* Then reciting a Pſalme or two, hee ſaid with a loud voice, *Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my ſpirit.* Then he embraced *Henry Lee*, and whiſpered a few words in his eares, and alſo to *Nowel* the Deane, who turning to the people, ſaid; The Duke deſireth you to pray vnto God, that he may haue mercie vpon him, and withall hold

hold your peace for distracting his minds. He forgaue the Executioner, and refused the Napkin, with which he offered to couer his eies, and said, *I feare not death*; he kneeled a while in his praiers, and *Nowel* with him: Then laying his head on the blocke, it was taken away at one blow, and was shewed to the people by the Executioner.

Scarce ten daies after his execution, *William* Lord *De La-ware*, *Ralph Sadleir*, *Thomas Wilson* Doctor of the Lawes, and *Thomas Bromley* the Queenes Soliciter, were sent to the Queene of *Scotland* full of sorrow and griefe, to expostulate criminally with her, that shee had vsurped the title and armes of the Realme of *England*, and had not released nor renounced them, as was agreed in the treatie of *Edenburgh*: That she had sought to marrie with the Duke of *Norfolke*, without the Queenes priuitie; and to get and obtaine the same mariage with the better successe by force, and to deliuer the Duke out of prison, shee had tried all meanes by her Agents and Ministers: That shee had raised the rebellion in the North, had releeued the Rebels (after they were put to flight) in *Scotland* and the Low-Countries: That shee had made suit by *Ridolph* the *Italian* for forraine helpe, from the Pope, from the King of *Spaine* and others, to inuade *England*: That she had conspired with certaine *English* men, to take her by force out of prison, and to proclaime her Queene of *England*: That she had receiued letters from the Pope, wherein he promised to cherish her, as the Hen doth her Chickens, and to account them that stood for her, the true children of the Church: Lastly, that shee had procured the Popes Bull against the Queene, and had suffered her selfe to be publikely called and named *Queene of England*, by her Seruants and Ministers in forraine Countries.

To theſe things ſhe (firſt proteſting that ſhee was a free Queene and ſubiect to none) anſwered with a ſtout courage and countenance.

1 *That ſhee had not vſurped the title and armes of* England, *but that the King of* France *and her husband impoſed them vpon her, being very young, and vnder the direction of her husband, and therefore not to bee laid vpon her for a fault; neither that ſhe did weare or vſe them after her husbands death; neither that ſhee will claime them as long as Queene* ELIZABETH *and her children liued.*

2 *That ſhe neuer imagined any detriment or hurt to the Queene by her mariage with the Duke of* Norfolke, *being perſwaded it would bee for the good of the Common-wealth; and that ſhee did not renounce it, becauſe ſhee had giuen her faith and troth vnto him.*

3 *That ſhe willed the Duke by ſome meanes to get away out of danger and priſon, which ſhee did out of the dutie ſhe ought to him as her husband.*

4 *That ſhee had not raiſed rebellion, nor was priuie to the ſame, who was alwaies moſt ready to reueale any attempts againſt the Queene if ſhee would vouchſafe to heare her ſpeake.*

5 *That ſhe neuer releeued the* Engliſh *Rebells,*

bells, onely that in her letters ſhee commended the Counteſſe of Northumberland *vnto the Duke of* Alba.

6 *That ſhe vſed* Ridolph *(whom ſhe knew to be highly in the Popes fauour) in many matters, yet receiued no letters from him.*

7 *That ſhe neuer moued any to attempt her deliuerance; yet that ſhe willingly gaue eare vnto them that offered their labour therein; and for that purpoſe, that ſhee communicated vnto* Rolſton *and* Hall *a priuate Character.*

8 *That ſhe had receiued ſometimes letters from the Pope, very pious and conſolatorie, in which were no ſuch phraſes of ſpeech.*

9 *That ſhee procured not the Bull: That ſhee onely ſaw the coppie thereof printed, and when ſhe had read it ouer, that ſhe burned it.*

10 *That if any in forraine Regions write or name her otherwiſe than they ought to doe, let them anſwer for it.*

11 *That ſhee neuer by letters required aid of the Pope and the King of* Spaine, *to inuade* England, *but onely to be reſtored into her Kingdome by their meanes, and that with the Queenes priuitie.*

12 *But if any queſtion or doubt bee made of thoſe letters of effecting the mariage by force of armes, ſhe requeſted (ſince ſhee was borne of the*

royall bloud of England) *that ſhee might anſwer perſonally in the next Parlament that was to be holden.*

And at this time the *French* King fauouring the Queene of *Scotland* and her partie (and the Queene of *England* the King and his partie) earneſtly moued Queene ELIZABETH to deliuer the Queene of *Scotland*, which the Queene of *England* denied to doe, ſaying, In very truth I keepe the Queene of *Scotland* in cuſtodie (after a faire manner) as a pledge of mine owne ſecuritie, and of the ſafetie of *England*. But when it was come to light that the Queene of *Scotland* intended a ſecret confederacie with the King of *Spaine*, by the Lord *Seton*, who landing in *Eſſex*, diſguiſed like a Mariner, had promiſed aid of men to the *Scots*, of the Queenes partie from *Alba*; both ſhee was kept ſtraiter in priſon, and the kindneſſe of the *French* men toward her waxed key-cold.

Shortly after, the league betweene *England* and *France* being concluded at *Blois*, and the Duke of *Momorancie* being ſent into *England* to confirme the ſame; he in few words in his Maſters name, requeſted that as much fauour might bee ſhewed vnto the Queene of *Scotland* as might be without danger: That there might bee a ceſſation of armes in *Scotland*, and that concord might be eſtabliſhed there by Parlament. Hee was anſwered, That more fauour was ſhewed to the Queene of *Scotland* than ſhee deſerued, and ſhould bee ſhewed for the *French* Kings ſake; although the Eſtates of the Kingdome (who were now aſſembled) thought the Queene could be in no ſecuritie without ſome ſeueritie ſhewed vnto her. As for the ceſſation of armes, the Queene had dealt diligently therein; and for that purpoſe had ſent very lately *Drurie* the Marſhall of *Barwicke*,

wicke, with *Crocus* the *French* Embaſſadour; and that they by no perſwaſions could bring *Grange* and the Garriſons in the Caſtle of *Edenburgh* to peace, being induced by hope of aid from *France* and the Low-Countries, though *Huntley*, and *Hamilton Arbroth* for the Duke his father, had bound themſelues vnder their hands to obſerue peace; and the others of the Queenes ſide had giuen their word alſo.

Anno 1573.

IN *Scotland*, *Iames Dowglas* Earle of *Mourton*, by the meanes of Queene ELIZABETH, was made Regent in the place of the Earle of *Marre*, who hauing his authoritie eſtabliſhed in the Parlament, did enact in the Kings name certaine Lawes, againſt the Papiſts, and againſt Heretikes; but the cuſtodie of the King hee confirmed to *Alexander Areskin*, for that the Earle of *Marre* (vnto whom the cuſtodie of the King of *Scotland* in his minoritie doth belong by a peculiar right) was vnder age, vpon theſe conditions, that is to wit, That the Papiſts and they of the other faction ſhould bee vtterly excluded; an Earle might come in with two men, a Baron with one man, other men alone, and euery one of theſe vnarmed.

And whereas Queene ELIZABETH by *Henry Killigrew*, had drawne *Iames Hamilton* Duke of *Chaſteauleroy*, *George Gordon* Earle of *Huntley*, who ſtood for the Queene, to theſe conditions, namely, To acknowledge

ledge the Religion eſtabliſhed in *Scotland*: To ſubmit themſelues to the King, and alſo to *Mourton* as his Regent, and to his ſucceſſors in the gouernment: To renounce the authoritie of all others: To account them Traitors by authoritie of Parlament, that attempted any thing againſt the Religion, the King or Regent: That the ſentence againſt the *Hamiltons* and the *Gordons* ſhould be repealed, &c. But theſe conditions *William Kircaldy* Lord of *Grange*, the Lord *Hume*, *Lidington*, and the Biſhop of *Dunkelden*, and others, who thought the Queene of *Scotland* to be iniuriouſly vſed, would vpon no termes admit; but fortified the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*, of which *Grange* was Captaine (placed therein by *Murrey*) looking for aid from *France* and the Duke of *Alba*; but Sir *William Drury* being ſent into *Scotland* with forces out of *England* to ioine with the *Scots*, the ſame Caſtle was yeelded in the three and thirtieth day of the ſiege, and ſo the Caſtle and all the priſoners were deliuered vnto the Regent, who hanged *Kircaldy* without mercie, ſpared *Hume* and others at the requeſt of Queene ELIZABETH; *Lidington* was ſent to *Lieth*, where he died, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon.

And to the end, that *England* might alſo bee more ſecure from clandeſtine attempts at home (on the behalfe of the Queene of *Scotland*) *Iohn Leſly* Biſhop of *Roſſe*, who very faithfully had ſerued his Queene (yet with the deſtruction of many men, and danger of more) was deliuered out of priſon, and commanded to depart out of *England*, and went into *France*, fearing *Southampton*, whom by his appeaching he had brought in danger, and alſo *Henry Howard* the Duke of *Norfolkes* brother; to mollifie whoſe anger, hee wrote an Apologie. He was ſcarce departed, but his ſecret Letter-carrier *Henry Cokin* was taken, and by him was *Morgan* detected,

directed, who prompt to doe some exploit for the Queene of *Scotland*, and desirous to haue done somewhat, forthwith fled away. *Atsloe* the Physitian for the Papists, and *Goad*, Doctors of Physicke, and *Francis Berty*, because they had secret commerce of letters with her, were put certaine moneths in prison. And for the same cause *Henry Goodyer* and *Richard Louder* were called into question.

In the meane while *Rosse* did not pretermit any part or dutie of a most faithfull subiect to the Queene of *Scotland* towards the Emperour, the Pope, the *French* King, and the Catholike Princes of *Germanie*, who euery one gaue good words and hopes, but yet performed nothing. And also the Duke of *Alba*, in whom he put his greatest trust, did at this time depart out of the Low-Countries, to his great griefe.

Anno 1574.

HEnry the third of that name, King of *France*, and his mother did all that they could by secret deuices to get the young King of *Scotland* into *France*, and to get *Mourton* out of his office of Regent, sending secretly *Scots* out of the *French* Guard for this purpose into *Scotland*; which thing the Queene of *Scotland* desired much, being perswaded, that if her sonne were in *France* out of danger, that shee and the Papists in *England* should be dealt withall more mildly: For hereupon she thought it would come to passe, that the

the faction in *Scotland*, hitherto countenanced by the authoritie of the Kings name, would decay and come to nothing; and that the *Engliſh* men would feare him more and more, as hee grew vp in yeeres, as well from *France* as out of *Scotland*. And as much did the *French* men wiſh the ſame; ſecretly fearing leſt the Regent of *Scotland* depending wholly on the *Engliſh*, ſhould diſſolue the ancient league betweene the *Scots* and the *French*. Yet when the Regent earneſtly requeſted that a league of mutuall defence betweene *England* and *Scotland* might bee made, hee was not heard; perhaps for that he requeſted withall, that an annuall penſion might bee aſſigned vnto him, and vnto certaine other *Scots*. But they were heard, who with a ſmall ſuſpicion touched the Queene of *Scotland*, the Counteſſe and Earle alſo of *Shrewsburie*, as though they had wrought a mariage betweene *Charles* Vncle vnto the King of *Scotland* (vnto whom the King had lately in the Parlament confirmed the Earledome of *Lennox*) and *Elizabeth Candiſh* daughter to the Counteſſe of *Shrewsburie* by her former husband, without the Queenes knowledge: For which cauſe the mothers of both them and others were kept in priſon, and all the fault was laid vpon the Queene of *Scotland*. And when ſundry ſuſpicions grew of the intent and purpoſe of this mariage, *Henry* Earle of *Huntingdon* was made Lord Preſident of the Councell in the North, with new and ſecret inſtructions concerning this matter.

Anno

Anno 1575.

THis yeere died in *Scotland* the moſt Noble Lord *Iames Hamilton* Duke of *Chaſteauleroy*, and Earle of *Arran*, who was the Grand-childes ſonne of *Iames* the ſecond King of *Scotland* by his daughter, the Tutor of Queene MARIE of *Scotland*, and Gouernour of the Kingdome, and heire deſigned, while ſhe was in her minoritie. At ſuch time as he had deliuered her vnto the *French* men, hee was made Duke of *Chaſteauleroy* in *France*; then chiefe of the three Gouernours of *Scotland* appointed by MARIE in her captiuitie. Whoſe cauſe while he defended moſt conſtantly, he being a plaine and well-meaning man, was vexed with all manner of politike and craftie deuices by turbulent and vnquiet minded people.

Anno 1577.

DOn Iohn *d'Auſtria* had made a perpetuall edict at *Gaunt*, to giue ſatisfaction to the Eſtates of the *Netherlands* for their aggrieuances; which the Prince of *Orange* vtterly condemning, opportunely heard, that *Don Iohn* intended to marrie the Queene of *Scotland*; on which he willingly laid hold, and forthwith certified Queene ELIZABETH thereof by

Famier, thereby to withdraw her minde from peace: yet ſhe, as one ignorant thereof, by *Daniel Rogers* ſhewed her gladneſſe of the perpetuall edict of peace, though now ſhe had certaine knowledge, that *Don Iohn* by the perſwaſion of the Earle of *Weſtmerland* and the *Engliſh* fugitiues, and forward fauour of the Pope and the *Guiſes*, had in hope ſwallowed that mariage, and withall the Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*; and had already appointed to ſurprize the Ile of *Man* in the *Iriſh* Sea, as a fit place to inuade *England* out of *Ireland*, and the Weſt borders of *Scotland*, wherein the Queene of *Scotland* had many aſſured friends; as alſo in the oppoſite ſide of *England*, *North-wales*, *Cumberland*, *Lancaſhire* and *Cheſhire*, where moſt of the inhabitants were earneſt Papiſts.

But indeed *Don Iohn* (as wee haue learned of *Perez* Secretarie to the King of *Spaine*) before now ambitiouſly minded, when hee had loſt the hope of the Kingdome of *Tuniſe*, had dealt couertly with the Pope about the expulſion of Queene ELIZABETH, the marrying of the Queene of *Scotland*, and the conqueſt of *England*, and vnknowne to *Philip*, had preuailed ſo farre, that the Pope as out of the care of the common good, moued *Philip* to make warre againſt *England*; and *Don Iohn* himſelfe being to depart into the Low-Countries, had proſecuted it earneſtly in *Spaine*; and afterwards by *Eſcouedo*, ſent out of the *Netherlands*, he had deſired to haue ſome Hauens in *Biſcay* granted vnto him, from whence hee might inuade *England* with a Nauie: But *Philip* diſliked their intentions, and began to neglect him, as one ouer ambitious.

Yet Queene ELIZABETH vnderſtood not theſe things fully, vntill *Orange* informed her.

In the meane time *Don Iohn* couertly proſecuted the mariage, and at the ſame time, to cloake the matter, ſent

ſent vnto Queene ELIZABETH the Viſcount of *Gaunt*, to ſhew her the conditions of the peace, and to requeſt longer daies of paiment for the money lent vnto the Eſtates: which ſhe willingly granted, and dealt with him againe by *Wilſon*, to recompence the Merchants of *England*, for the hurt ſuſtained in the ſacking of *Antwerpe*. He eludeth the matter, & whiles he ſeemed to attend about the *Perpetuall edict for peace*, he brake out ſuddenly into open warre, and by policie gat into his hands many Cities and Caſtles; and wrote vnto the King of *Spaine*, that he thought it beſt to ſubdue and conquer the Ilands of *Zeland* before the Inland Prouinces: and beleeuing that which he hoped, endeuoured to perſwade him by his Secretarie, that *England* was eaſier to be conquered than *Zeland*.

Anno 1578.

ABout this time *Margaret Dowglas* Counteſſe of *Lennox*, Neece to *Henry* the eighth by his eldeſt ſiſter, widow of *Matthew* Earle of *Lennox*, Grandmother vnto IAMES King of *Great Britaine*, ouerliuing her eight children, departed to the ioies of heauen, in the threeſcore and third yeere of her age, and was buried at *Weſtminſter* with a ſolemne funerall, at the Queenes charge: a Matron of worthy pietie, patience and chaſtitie, who was thrice caſt into priſon (as I haue heard her ſpeake it) not for matter of treaſon, but for loue matters: Firſt, when *Thomas Howard* ſonne to

Thomas Howard firſt Duke of *Norfolke* (being in loue with her) died in the Tower; then for the loue of *Henry Darly* her ſonne, to the Queene MARIE of *Scotland*; laſtly, for the loue of *Charles* her younger ſonne, to *Elizabeth Candiſh* mother to *Arbella*, of which mariage the Queene of *Scotland* was accuſed to bee a procurer, as I haue ſaid before.

About the ſame time the credit and authoritie of *Mourton* began to decay; inſomuch, that hee was remoued from his office of Regent, and the adminiſtration of all things deliuered vnto the King, by the common conſent of the Eſtates, and (becauſe hee was not paſt twelue yeeres old) vnto twelue of the chiefe Noblemen which were named, of whom three, euery three moneths by turnes, ſhould bee preſent with the King, to giue him aduice, and *Mourton* was one of them, that they might ſeeme to bring him lower, not to caſt him downe.

Shortly after, *Mourton* truſting on his ſharpe wit, long experience, and many dependants and retainers, thinking nothing well done, except he himſelfe did it, and alſo not brooking not to be the ſame man he had beene, drew backe all the adminiſtration vnto himſelfe, not regarding his aſſociates, and not obſeruing the conſent of adminiſtration ſet downe, hee kept in his hand the King within the Caſtle of *Sterling*, and ſhut out & excluded whom he pleaſed, and admitted others at his owne choice. Wherewith the Noblemen being moued, made the Earle of *Athell* their Captaine, and made Proclamation in the Kings name, that all men aboue ſixteene, and vnder threeſcore yeeres, ſhould meet in Armour, with victuals for fifteene daies. There met very many, and with Banners diſplaied they marched vnto *Fawkirke*, where *Mourton* with his friends met them in Armour ready to fight: But *Robert Bowes* the *Engliſh* Embaſſadour,

baſſadour by intreatie, and mouing honeſt conditions, kept them from fighting; and *Mourton* forthwith, as wearie of buſineſſe, went home ſecretly, and the Earle of *Atholl* died incontinently, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon; which the mindes incenſed againſt *Mourton*, tooke to his ſlander, and for this and other things, they neuer ceaſed to perſecute him, vntill they had brought him to his deſtruction, as we will declare hereafter.

Anno 1579.

THe *Scots* were in feare of hauing their Religion altered by a *French* man called *Amatus* or *Eſmaus Stewart*, who came at this time into *Scotland*, to ſee the King his Couſin; (for he was the ſonne of *Iohn Stewart*, brother vnto *Matthew* Earle of *Lennox*, who was the Kings Grand-father, and called *Aubigney* of a Towne in *Berry*, which long ſince *Charles* the ſeuenth, King of *France*, had giuen to *Iohn Stewart* of the familie of *Lennox*, who being Conſtable of the *Scottiſh* Armie in *France*, put the *Engliſh* men to flight at *Baugy*, and was afterwards ſlaine by them in the battell of *Herrings*; and euer ſince that time it hath belonged vnto the younger ſonne of that houſe.) This man the King vſed with ſingular kindneſſe, gaue him good liuings, made him of his priuie Councell, and Lord Chamberlaine of *Scotland*, and Captaine of the Caſtle of *Dunbritton*, and then Earle of *Lennox*, and after Duke. This extraordinarie fauour of the King towards him,

him, cauſed many to enuie him; who murmured that he was a fauourer of the *Guiſes*, and of the *Roman* Religion, and ſent purpoſely into *Scotland*, by ſecret meanes to ouerthrow the true Religion. The ſuſpicion was much increaſed, in that hee was familiar with the aduerſaries of *Mourton*, and intreated to haue *Thomas Carre* of *Fernihurſt* recalled home, who was the moſt aſſured friend to the Queene of *Scotland* of all others; *Mourton* reſiſting the ſame with all his power, but in vaine, for his authoritie was leſſe and leſſe with all men; although it might ſeeme that hee deſerued well, in profligating the *Hamiltons*, and taking the Caſtle of *Hamilton* and *Daffraine*.

Anno 1580.

IN *Scotland* when many Miniſters of the Word and Noblemen perceiued that *Lennox* was in the Kings high fauour; firſt, they raiſed one *Iames Stewart* of the familie of *Ochiltree*, Captaine of the Guard, and Earle of *Arran* (for hee had vſurped that title from I know not what ceſſion of *Iames Hamilton* Earle of *Arran*, whoſe Tutor hee had beene when hee was not well in his wit) to affront him: But the King in a ſhort time reconciled them. When this way ſerued not their turne, they procured him as much hatred as they could at home, and accuſed him hainouſly vnto the Queene of *England*, as one ſent in couertly by the *Guiſes*, to ſhake the ſtate of Religion, to procure the libertie

libertie of the impriſoned Queene, and to diſſolue the amitie betweene *England* and *Scotland*. Theſe men were ſoone beleeued, and vpon this matter was kept a ſerious conſultation in *England*; though hee in his letters cleered himſelfe to the Queene, and openly profeſſed the Proteſtants Religion.

For the Councellors of *England* feared, leſt he ſhould ſuppreſſe the *Scots* who were friends to *England*, nouriſh excurſions in the borders, and entice the King to marrie in *France*, or in ſome other place, vnknowne to the *Engliſh* men; whereupon the young King truſting, might trouble *England*, and being growne to mature yeeres, aſſume to himſelfe the title of the Realme of *England*, as his mother had done before; which if hee ſhould doe, there would bee more danger in him, than was in his mother; ſince hee was borne to the certaine hope of both the Kingdomes, he might get many moe fautors; and now the *Scots* being bred vp in their warres at home, and in the Low-Countries, were more exerciſed and skilfull in marſhall affaires. Hereupon they thought good to wring *Lennox* out of the Kings fauour, by one meanes or other, or elſe to driue him out of *Scotland*, and that without delay; ſince it was bruted abroad, that hee had ſent for one *Balfure* out of *France* (who had gotten I know not what hand-writing of *Mourtons*, wherein it was hoped, that *Mourton* might bee conuinced of the murder of the Kings father) and alſo that he had obtained the Captainſhip of the Caſtle of *Dunbritton*, for no other purpoſe, but either to let in forraine forces into *Britaine*, or elſe to carry ouer from thence the King of *Scotland* into *France*. It was reported alſo, that he perſwaded the King to reſigne his *Crowne* vp to his mother, as if ſhee had beene depriued vniuſtly, and by a moſt impious example or preſident by her ſubiects accepting aſſurance, to take

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it from her by a lawfull reſignation; whereby hee ſhould moſt ſtrongly confirme his Kingdome to him, and extinguiſhing the factions thereby, bee acknowledged of all men for a lawfull King.

Hereupon *Robert Bowes*, Treaſurer for the Garriſon at *Barwicke*, was ſent into *Scotland*, who ſhould challenge and charge *Lennox* with thoſe things before the King and his Councellors, and admoniſh them to beware of their imminent euils. As ſoone as hee was admitted to ſpeake, he required to haue *Lennox* remoued from the Councell, which the Councellors vtterly denied, as a thing ſtrange and neuer heard of, that a Kings Councellor ſhould bee put out of his place, and his cauſe not heard or not knowne. They doubted alſo whether the Queene did expreſly command him ſo to doe, and required him to ſhew his inſtructions to maintaine his credit. He denied to ſhew them, but onely to the King, and vnto one or two more; whereupon hee was vnheard, forthwith called home, and tooke leaue of the King, who thought of no ſuch matter, complaining that the wholſome admoniſhments of his Lady the Queene (who deſerued well at their hands) were reiected.

Immediatly vpon this was ſent from *Scotland Alexander Hume* to excuſe theſe things, and to learne what theſe imminent euils were; but hee was not admitted vnto the Queene, but was ſent to *Burleigh*, who with a briefe and diſcreet ſpeech ſhewed him, *That the Queene thought not good to admit him to her ſpeech, not that ſhee did neglect him, whom ſhe had tried to be ſound in Religion, and a man carefull for the good of his Prince, Countrie, and the tranquillitie of both the Realmes, but out of a iuſt griefe, that her Maieſtie and the credit of her Embaſſadour was ſo contemptuouſly vſed, who had kept himſelfe within the compaſſe and bounds of his Embaſſade, and had beene*

beene commanded to ſhew his commiſſion (which was a thing neuer heard of.) Hee caſt all the fault vpon the new Councellors, and excuſed the King, who wanted experience through his young yeeres, and wiſhed that hee would giue eare vnto the wholſome and profitable aduices of the Queene, who bare a true motherly minde vnto him, and not to make leſſe account of her, than he did of his French *Couſin, and a ſubiect to the* French *King, matched with a* French *woman, and a Papiſt in Religion; and who perhaps doth ſeeke (the* Hamiltons *being at this time baniſhed) to be deſigned ſecond perſon to the King:* And ſaid, *Let the King remember, that there is no affection more vehement than Ambition; and let the* Scots *remember what broiles the* French *men had made in* Scotland, *if the Queene by her prudence and power had not preuented them.*

So *Hume* was ſent backe into *Scotland*, and all theſe things were done of purpoſe to put the King in feare, and to make him beleeue, that *Lennox* had vndertaken dangerous plots and deuices againſt the King and the Realme. Yet for all this, ſhortly after, *Mourton* who was wholly for *England*, was accuſed of treaſon by the Earle of *Arran*, and caſt into priſon.

Anno 1581.

HEreupon in the beginning of Ianuarie, Sir *Thomas Randolph* generall Poſt-maſter, was ſent into *Scotland*, with inſtructions to conſerue the Religion and amitie with the *Engliſh* men, and to labour

bour all hee could, that no violence ſhould bee offered vnto *Mourton*, to remoue *Lennox* away out of *Scotland*, and to comfort the Noblemen of the *Engliſh* faction. Hee made diligent and earneſt intreatie for *Mourton*, alleaging his merits towards the King, the honour of Queene ELIZABETH, if ſhee ſo well deſeruing ſhould haue a repulſe, and the enuie of his accuſers. The King anſwered; That hee could not out of his Princely dutie, but bring to triall a man appeached of treaſon; and that he acknowledged by experience the Queenes good will, and that hee would not commit any thing that might iuſtly diſpleaſe her by any meanes.

After *Randolph* was admitted to ſpeake in the aſſembly of the Eſtates, recounting the benefits of Queene ELIZABETH towards *Scotland*, and the King himſelfe, to wit; *How ſhe had deliuered the Realme from the* French *men, with the bloud of* Engliſh *men, defended their Religion and King, and yet neuer thought to conuay him away (as it was falſly reported) or to obtaine an Acre of* Scottiſh *ground; when yet ſhee had opportunitie and meanes to conquer* Scotland, *the King being in his Cradle, his mother priſoner in* England, *and the Noblemen at diſſention. But on the other ſide, ſhee hath beſtowed all her care to preſerue in ſafetie the King and his Realme, who was tied vnto her with the moſt ſtrait bonds of bloud, vicinitie and Religion: whoſe loue ſhe found moſt ſincere towards her, as ſhe had done all the Regents ſucceſſiuely before that* Aubigney *Earle of* Lennox *came into* Scotland. *Since that time hee hath ruled the King as a Ward, hath auerted his minde from the friendſhip of the* Engliſh *men vnto the* French *men, who haue not hitherto ſo much as acknowledged him for King, hath put out of their offices the moſt faithfull ſubiects of the King, and hath put in others not ſo faithfull, and hath by his letters (which he ſhewed) dealt with forraine Princes about the inuading of* England.

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He hath moued the King to hate and abhorre the Miniſters of Gods word, as if they were railers and turbulent people, and hath had no care of the adminiſtration of iuſtice betweene the borderers: All which things Queene ELIZABETH *could not but take in very euill part, when ſhe ſaw a Prince of ſuch vertue, and her neereſt Couſin, alienated and drawne forcibly away by theſe bad deuices.* Yet nothing was then effected, either to helpe *Mourton*, or againſt *Lennox*, who moſt men thought was falſly charged with the crimes; and alſo that the letters which were ſhewed, were counterfeit.

Therefore *Randolph* attempted another politike way: He vnto the aduerſaries of *Lennox*, and vnto the friends of *Mourton*, deploreth the vnfortunate eſtate of *Scotland*, and laieth before them the dangers hanging ouer the heads of the King, the Common-wealth, and themſelues; hee complaineth that the interceſſion of the Queene of *England* is not regarded of the vnthankfull people, and couertly aduiſeth them to trie whether they can effect that by armes, which they cannot obtaine by other meanes, and promiſed them helpe of men and money out of *England*. And ſo hee drew to his ſide the Earles of *Argile*, *Montros*, *Angus*, (*Mourtons* brothers ſonne) *Marre*, *Glencarne*, *Ruthen*, *Lyndſey*, and others. But they by and by after, their ends and purpoſes being ſeuerall, when they ſaw the King wholly to bend his fauour towards *Lennox*, and not to bee terrified with the *Engliſh* forces which were on the borders, againſt which he had oppoſed his, the moſt of them diſagreeing and reuerencing royall Maieſtie euen in a young man, durſt attempt nothing againſt *Lennox*, and thought it enough if they tooke compaſſion on *Mourton*. Yet *Angus* and *Marre* ſecretly deuiſed plots for *Mourton*, and againſt *Lennox*; of which when the King had knowledge by *Wittingham*, *Angus* was com-

manded to depart, and liue beyond the Riuer of *Spea*; and *Marre* was commanded to deliuer the Caſtle of *Sterling* vnto the King. *Randolph* doubting ſome danger to himſelfe, ſlipped ſecretly away to *Barwicke*, and willed *Angus* and *Marre* (things going againſt them) to looke to themſelues, either by recouering the Kings fauour, or elſe by reſorting vnto the protection of the Queene of *England*. But the *Engliſh* forces were now called backe from the borders; and not long after, *Mourton* (as priuie vnto the murder of the Kings father) was beheaded, being firſt found guiltie of the ſame. For hee had confeſſed, as they ſay, That *Bothwell* and *Archibald Dowglas* did communicate vnto him their intent and purpoſe to kill the King, and that hee durſt not reueale the ſame in ſuch a doubtfull world as that was: neither could he denie (after the murder was committed) but that *Archibald Dowglas* one of the murderers was one of his moſt inward friends; and that hee gaue his faith and word vnder his hand, to defend *Bothwell*, if any man accuſed him for murdering of the King. *Angus* and the other, who ſtood in defence of *Mourton*, fled into *England*.

Anno 1582.

QVeene ELIZABETH, that ſhee might bee more ſecure at home, purpoſed to make a compoſition with the Queene of *Scotland* by *Walter Mildmay*; but finding out that the *Guiſe* was deuiſing

uiſing ſome ſecret practiſes with ſome *Engliſh* fugitiues, and to gather forces together, vnder pretence to ſend them into the Low-Countries, to ſerue vnder the Duke of *Anjeou*, but indeed to bee tranſported into *England*, from *Ewe* an obſcure part in *Normandy*, belonging vnto him, the matter was put off vntill another time, and ſhe was not regarded.

But about the ſame time *William Ruthen* (whom the King had lately created Earle of *Gowry*) not degenerating from his father, who bare a deadly hatred againſt the Kings mother, and other conſpirators deuiſed to remoue *Lennox* and the Earle of *Arran* from the King, vnder the pretence to aſſure Religion, the Kings ſafetie, and amitie of *England*, whereunto they were incenſed and whetted on by their Miniſters. So when *Lennox* was departed from *Perth*, where the King lay, vnto *Edenburgh*, about ſome affaires of the Realme, and *Arran* alſo was abſent; *Gowry*, *Marre*, *Lyndſey* and others, taking the opportunitie, inuited the King vnto the Caſtle of *Ruthen*, where they detained him againſt his will, and would not permit him to ride or walke into the fields, threatning him with death. They put from him all his faithfull ſeruants, caſt the Earle of *Arran* into priſon, and compelled the King to call home the Earle of *Angus*, who was baniſhed; the Queene of *England* (who was of their counſell) making interceſſion for him; and to ſend backe *Lennox* into *France*, who being a man of a milde nature, gaue ouer the Caſtle of *Dunbritton*, which he might eaſily haue defended (by the perſwaſion of the King ſet on by them) and refuſed not to returne into *France*. But they not content herewith, enforced the King againſt his will, to approue this his ſurprize in letters to the Queene of *England*, and to pronounce the aſſembly of the Eſtates, ſummoned and called by them, to be lawfull.

When

When the *French* King heard this for a certaintie, he diſpatched *Motſenelan* by *England*, and *Manninguill* by Sea, with one and the ſame inſtructions into *Scotland*, to wit, That they ſhould take ſome order by one meanes or other to ſet the King free, and confirme the faction of *France*, to allure and winne the Kings minde vnto the friendſhip of the *French*, and as ioifull newes ſignifie vnto him, that the Queene his mother out of her motherly pietie, did grant and beſtow vpon him the title of King, and admit him very willingly now into the fellowſhip of the Kingdome, to the end that hee might bee taken and acknowledged as a true and lawfull King by all Chriſtian Princes, and all the *Scots*; and thereby the diuiſion and partaking of factions wholly taken away.

She in the meane time being vexed and troubled in minde, oppreſſed with miſeries, and pining away with the calamitie of her long laſting impriſonment, without any hope of libertie; in her long letters written in *French* (which her motherly loue and anxietie of minde extorted from her) deplored vnto Queene ELIZABETH her grieuous and hard fortunes, and the moſt diſtreſſed eſtate of her ſonne, to this effect; for I will, out of the originall written with her owne hand, abbreuiate them.

When I heard for certaintie, that my ſonne was taken and ſurprized by Rebels (as I my ſelfe was certaine yeeres agoe) out of a iuſt feare leſt hee ſhould fall into the ſame and like vnfortunate eſtate that I am in, I cannot but powre out my mournfull complaints, and engraue the ſame (if it may be) in thy conſcience, that my innocencie may euidently appeare vnto poſteritie; and alſo their ignominie and ſhame, by whoſe iniquitie I am caſt into theſe miſeries. But ſince the policies and cunning reaches of theſe perſons (though wicked and lewd) haue hitherto preuailed more

with

with thee, than my iuſt complaints; let the right and iuſtice now yeeld and giue place vnto thy power, and let force oppreſſe the truth with men, I will appeale vnto the immortall God, whom alone I acknowledge to bee ſuperiour of vs Princes of equall right and honour. And I will call vpon the ſame God (with whom gloſes and deceits are not regarded, and will not preuaile) that at the laſt day hee will reward vs two as wee deſerue each to other, howſoeuer my aduerſaries haue skill to cloake their craftie and deceitfull policies with men (and peraduenture alſo with thee.) In his name therefore, and as it were before his Iudgement-ſeat, I preſent vnto thy minde, by what policies, ſome ſpies vſing thy name, drew the Scots *my ſubiects to rebell againſt me, at ſuch time as I liued in* Scotland; *and ſet on foot all the euils which haue happened there from that day to this. Which thing (not to ſpeake of other matters) is moſt euident and apparant, by teſtimonies openly ſhewed, and the confeſſion of* Mourtous *owne mouth, who was for that cauſe aduanced vnto honour; againſt whom, if I had dealt by courſe of Law, and thou hadſt not giuen aid vnto the Rebels, they could neuer haue ſtood out ſo long againſt mee and my friends.*

While I was detained in priſon in Lochleuin, Nicholas Throgmorton *perſwaded me in thy name, by ſealing Letters Patents, to reſigne my Kingdome (which he affirmed would bee void, and indeed all the world accounted it void) vntill thou by thy fauour, countenance and forces, didſt giue aid vnto the beginners and procurers of theſe Letters Patents. And tell me in good faith, whether thou doeſt acknowledge thy ſubiects to haue any ſuch authoritie ouer thee. And yet from thenceforth was my royall authoritie taken away from me by thy counſell and helpe, and my Kingdome transferred vnto my ſonne, vncapable thereof by reaſon of his tender yeeres. And when I not long ſince, determined to confirme the Kingdome vnto him in a lawfull manner,*

manner, he was taken away by force, by diuers Traitors, who queſtionleſſe haue an intent to depriue him of his Kingdome, as they did me, if not to take away his life alſo. After I eſcaped out of Lochleuin, and was now ready to fight and encounter with the Rebels, I implored thy aid, ſending backe that Diamond which beforetime I had receiued from thee, as a token and pledge of thy loue, with a large promiſe of aid againſt the Rebels; not once nor twice alſo giuing thy fidelitie, that if I retired and came my ſelfe vnto thee for ſuccour, thou wouldeſt come in perſon vnto the borders, and giue me aid. And I truſting vpon thy promiſe freely offered, (although thy ſeruants had oftentimes deceiued me) reſolued to flee for helpe vnto thee, as to my laſt aſſured Anchor, in my aduerſitie, and ſo had I done, if the way had beene as open and eaſie for me, as it was for them that rebelled againſt me. But before I could come vnto thee, I was intercepted, guarded with keepers, ſhut vp into ſtrong places, and from that time vntill this, endured euils more grieuous than death.

I know thou wilt obiect againſt mee, the dealings that were betwixt the Duke of Norfolke and me; yet I doe ſtill denie, that they were any wrong or hurt to thee, or to thy Realme, for they were allowed by the chiefe Councellors of the Realme of England, and confirmed with their ſubſcriptions; who alſo promiſed aſſuredly to obtaine thy conſent. And how (I pray you) could ſuch great men promiſe thy conſent vnto that ſhould depriue thee of thy life, honour and Diadem? But yet thou wilt haue all men to beleeue this.

But when many of thoſe Rebels did repent, though late, and ſaw more plainly by the conference at Yorke, betweene our Commiſſioners, how vniuſtly they dealt with mee; they were forthwith beſieged by thy forces in the Caſtle of Edenburgh; and of the principall men, one (Lidington) was poiſoned, and the other (Grange) in lamentable manner hanged.

hanged. And this, after that by thy requeſt, I had cauſed them once or twice to lay downe their armes vpon a hope of peace, which God knoweth whether my aduerſaries euer imagined to keepe.

From that time I was reſolued to trie whether I could mollifie rigor by patience, in ſuffering whatſoeuer they impoſed on mee a priſoner; yet I was vtterly barred from all conference with my ſonne by letters or meſſengers, for this whole yeere paſt, that the ſonne might be diſioined by this moſt lamentable diſiunction from the mother, if it might be.

I haue oftentimes ſet downe and propoſed conditions of a peace and concord to bee made betweene vs, as at Chattiſworth *eleuen yeeres ſince, with the Commiſsioners, and with thy ſelfe by the Embaſſadours of the moſt Chriſtian King, and by mine owne: I dealt alſo ſincerely with* Beale *the laſt winter; but thoſe conditions were alwaies reiected, and delaies made and interpoſed, my aduices and counſells were ſuſpected, and all the motions of my ſincere minde condemned and diſallowed. Neither did I reape any other fruit of my long laſting patience, than that it grew to a ſetled cuſtome for mee to bee more rigorouſly vſed, euery day than other; not as a priſoner, but euen as a Kitchin-maid. Aſſuredly I cannot endure theſe things any longer, and hap what hap will, if I die, I will make the procurers and cauſers of my death to bee knowne: but if I liue, I ſhall finde meanes, I hope, that all theſe wicked attempts and ſlanderous calumniations againſt me, ſhall die, that I may ſpend the reſt of my life in more tranquillitie.*

Wherefore to take away all diſpleaſure and hatred betweene vs, let the teſtimonies of the Spaniards, *who were lately taken in* Ireland, *be ſhewed, let the examinations of the Ieſuits bee produced, let any body haue free libertie to accuſe me publikely; yet ſo that in like manner I may haue libertie to defend my ſelfe, and that I be not condemned vn-*

heard. Malefactors and perſons of the baſeſt ſort and condition are admitted to ſpeake and defend themſelues; and their accuſers are brought before their face. Why am not I ſo vſed and dealt withall, who am a Queene anointed, and thy next Couſin, and the lawfull heire of the Crowne after thee? But this laſt thing is the matter which chiefly vexeth and ſtingeth my aduerſaries, which ſtudie to keepe vs ſtill enemies, and at contention. Alas, there is no cauſe why this ſhould vex them. I take God *to witneſſe, and vpon mine honour, I haue thought of no other Kingdome this long time, but onely the Celeſtiall Kingdome. Yet thou art bound in Conſcience, and tied both by dutie and iuſtice, not to trouble or croſſe the moſt aſſured right of my ſonne after my death, nor to further their ſecret combinations, who as well in* England *as in* Scotland, *doe apply all their wit and power to worke the deſtruction of me and my ſonne, which is euident and apparent by the inſtructions of thy meſſengers in* Scotland, *who vſed and behaued themſelues moſt ſeditiouſly (doubtleſſe without thy knowledge) but* Huntingdon *being wonderfull eager and diligent therein.*

Is this iuſt and right, that I a mother ſhall bee forbidden, not onely to giue counſell and aduice to my oppreſſed ſonne, but alſo to vnderſtand in what diſtreſſed eſtate he is? If they had beene ſent for my ſonnes good, perhaps if they had taken mine aduice with them, they ſhould haue beene for that cauſe the more welcome vnto him. Verily thou hadſt bound and tied me vnto thee more ſtrictly, and thou hadſt no cauſe ſo much to conceale their going thither, or to take away at that very time from mee all my libertie: Yet that I may ſpeake freely; I deſire thee not to vſe ſuch Agents any more in the Scottiſh *affaires: For although I beleeue that* Cary (Hunſdon) *will not doe or take any thing in hand, which may bee a blemiſh to himſelfe or his honour, yet I cannot hope of any good to come from* Huntingdon, *for his euill deſerts towards me.*

There-

Therefore I earneſtly requeſt thee, by the moſt neere alliance of bloud that is betweene vs, that thou wouldeſt ſeriouſly haue regard to the ſafetie of my ſonne, and not to intermeddle any more with the affaires of Scotland, *without the priuitie of me, or the* French *King; and that thou wouldſt account them, who by force keepe my ſonne in priſon (and compell him to doe what they liſt) none other but Traitors. Moreouer, I heartily requeſt thee, by the Croſſe and Paßion of Chriſt our Redeemer; That I being (vpon honeſt and reaſonable conditions) reſtored to libertie, may ſomewhat recomfort my languiſhing body, for the ſmall time of my life that remaineth (in ſome place out of* England) *after this long-laſting and loathſome inpriſonment. In ſo doing thou ſhalt for euer binde mee and my friends, and eſpecially my ſonne vnto thee. Which I will neuer ceaſe with importunate requeſt to demand at thy hands, vntill thou doeſt yeeld and conſent thereunto. My body diſeaſed and ſubiect to infirmitie, compelleth mee to be ſo earneſt. I pray thee therefore cauſe me to bee vſed with more humanitie, otherwiſe I cannot endure it, I tell thee in plaine termes: And poaſt mee not ouer to be vſed at the pleaſure of any other, but at thy diſpoſition. Whatſoeuer good or euill things happen vnto me hereafter, I will attribute and aſcribe them onely to thy ſelfe. Shew mee this fauour, that I may vnderſtand thy pleaſure from thy ſelfe by a letter, be it neuer ſo ſhort, or by the* French *Embaſſadour. I cannot bee ſatisfied in thoſe things which* Shrewsburie *doth ſignifie vnto mee, foraſmuch as they may euery day be altered. When I very lately wrote vnto thy Councellors, thou didſt command that I ſhould acquaint thee onely with my affaires (but it was not iuſt to giue them ſo great authoritie to afflict and vex me) yet I cannot but feare, that many of them that be my deadly aduerſaries haue procured this, leſt the reſt, after they ſhall haue heard my moſt iuſt complaint, ſhould oppoſe themſelues, as well in reſpect of thy honour, as of their dutie to*

thee. Now reſteth my moſt inſtant and importunate ſuit, that I thinking onely of the life to come, may haue ſome reuerend Catholike Prieſt, to direct me in my Religion, for the ſaluation of my ſoule. This laſt office is not to be denied vnto poore wretches of the baſeſt and meaneſt eſtate. Thou doeſt permit vnto the Embaſſadours of forraine Princes, the exerciſe of their Religion, and I voluntarily permitted it to my ſubiects that were of a contrarie Religion. If this be denied vnto mee, I hope, I ſhall bee excuſed before God. But I feare mine aduerſaries ſhall not eſcape without puniſhment. Aſſuredly it will be a preſident vnto other Princes of Chriſtendome, to ſhew the like ſeueritie againſt their ſubiects that be in Religion contrarie vnto them, if this ſeueritie be vſed towards me a free and abſolute Princeſſe, and thy neereſt Couſin, for ſo I am, and will be ſo to thee whiles I liue, in ſpite of mine aduerſaries, let them ſtomacke it neuer ſo much. I deſire not to haue my familie increaſed, but I requeſt to haue onely two maids, which are neceſſary and needfull to me in this my weakneſſe and ſickneſſe of body. And let not my aduerſaries fulfill their cruell mindes altogether againſt me, in barring me of ſo ſmall a courteſie. Whereas I am ſecretly accuſed by Shrewsburie, that I haue priuily and without thy knowledge practiſed to transferre my right in Scotland vnto my ſonne, contrary to my promiſe made vnto Beale: I deſire thee not to giue credit vnto the ſuggeſtions of Beale, I promiſed nothing but vnder certaine conditions, to which I am not bound, except they bee performed by thee. From that time hitherto, I haue receiued no anſwer; and there is not a word ſpoken of them; but yet the practiſes in Scotland to deſtroy me and my ſonne, haue not ceaſed. That long-laſting ſilence I cannot interpret to bee any other thing but a plaine repulſe and deniall; and ſo I ſignified by my letters to thee, and to thy Councellors; thoſe things which the French King and his mother imparted vnto me, I alſo ſincerely imparted vnto thee, and asked

asked thy aduice in them, but I heard not a word from thee againe. I neuer had so much as a thought to submit my selfe vnto thy Councell about mine affaires and my Countrey, before I knew what it should be; for it might seeme a meere folly so to doe. How my aduersaries in Scotland *doe triumph ouer me and my imprisoned sonne, thou art not ignorant; I attempted nothing there that may bee hurtfull vnto thee, but onely to procure a firme peace in that Kingdome, which is more to bee respected by mee, than by thy Councellours: forasmuch as I haue more interest therein than they. I earnestly and from my heart desired to bestow and confirme vnto my sonne the title of a King, and therewithall to burie in the earth all discords and dissentions. Is not this to pull the Diadem from my sonnes head? But indeed mine aduersaries would not haue it confirmed vnto my familie. This is the thing they enuie, when their conscience beareth witnesse against them; and being guiltie of euill, they feare mischife will befall them.*

Let not these and other mine aduersaries so blinde thine eies, and in thy life and sight, procure the death of thy next kindred, and bring to confusion both the Crownes; for to that intent doe they inuent mischiefe against mee, against my sonne, and perhaps thy selfe also. Can it bee any good or honour vnto thee, that I and my sonne should bee secluded by their meanes and practises, and wee two betweene our selues so long? Remember thy inbred lenitie, binde thy selfe vnto thy selfe; and being as thou art a Princesse, by thy placabilitie mollifie thy minde, and abandon all displeasure and hatred towards mee a Princesse, thy neerest Cousin, and one that loueth thee most deerely; that all our affaires being louingly compounded betweene vs, I may depart out of this life, and the sobs and sighs of my distressed soule, may not penetrate vnto God; vnto whose heauenly Maiestie I offer

my

my continuall praiers, that my iuſt complaints and dolorous lamentations, may now at the laſt, finde way vnto thee. From Sheffield *the eighth day of Nouember.* 1582.

Voſtre treſdeſoleé plus proche parente & affectioneé ſeure, MARIE R.

Anno 1583.

WIth theſe letters Queene ELIZABETH was wonderfully moued and diſquieted, and ſent vnto the Queene of *Scotland, Robert Beale* one of the Clerkes of the Councell, a man rude and vnciuill; who ſhould in ſharpe words expoſtulate with her for her letters of complaint, and alſo iointly with the Earle of *Shrewsburie*, to talke about her deliuerance; foraſmuch as ſhe had of late in other letters requeſted Queene ELIZABETH that ſhee might after this time (vpon ſecuritie to bee giuen to Queene ELIZABETH) enioy her libertie, and bee ioined with her ſonne in the gouernment of *Scotland.*

About this matter was a ſerious conſultation among the Councell of *England*, and moſt of them were content that ſhee ſhould bee deliuered vpon theſe conditions: To wit,

1 *That ſhe and her ſonne ſhould promiſe to practiſe nothing hurtfull to Queene* ELIZABETH *and the Realme of* England.

2 *That*

2 *That she should voluntarily confesse, that whatsoeuer was done by* Francis *the second, the* French *King her husband, against Queeene* ELIZABETH, *was done against her will; and that shee should vtterly disallow the same as vniust, by confirming the treatie of* Edenburgh.

3 *That shee should condemne all the practises euer since that time, and ingenuously renounce them.*

4 *She should binde her selfe not to practise any thing directly or indirectly against the gouernment of the Realme of* England, *in Ecclesiasticall or Ciuill affaires; but by all manner of meanes oppose her selfe and resist such practisers as publike enemies.*

5 *That shee shall challenge or claime no right vnto her selfe in the Kingdome of* England, *during the life of Queene* ELIZABETH; *and that afterward shee will submit her right of succession vnto the Estates of* England.

6 *And to the end shee may not hereafter vse any cauill, and say: That she condescended to these conditions (being a prisoner and by coaction) shee her selfe should not onely sweare vnto them, but also procure the Estates of* Scotland *to confirme them by publike authoritie.*

7 *The*

7 *The King himſelfe alſo ſhould ratifie them by oath, and by writing.*

8 *And that hoſtages ſhould be giuen.*

As for the conſociation with her ſonne, in the adminiſtration of affaires, it was thought fit that the Queene of *England* ſhould not interpoſe her ſelfe; but this they referred to the King of *Scotland* himſelfe, and the Eſtates of *Scotland*. But if they were ioined together, that they ſhould talke about the league with them iointly, if not, by themſelues.

Theſe things were conſulted of, but with no ſucceſſe; For the *Scots* of the *Engliſh* faction vtterly reiected them, crying amaine, that many *Scots*, deadly enemies to the *Engliſh* Nation, were called out of *France* by the counſell of the Queene of *Scotland*: And that *Holt* an *Engliſh* Ieſuit was ſent ſecretly into *Scotland*, to take order for the inuading of *England*.

The *French* Embaſſadours, which went into *Scotland*, not obtaining that they came for, departed; whereupon the Noblemen that had ſurprized the King, grew haughtie in minde, as alſo for that *Lennox* died at that time, which putting them into ſecuritie, the King contrary to their expectation, diſdaining to be vnder the gouernment of three Earles, recouered his libertie, & went to the Caſtle of Saint *Andrewes*; and with good words willed many of the ſurprizers to depart from the Court, to auoid any ſtirre, and promiſed them pardon, if they would aske it within a certaine time (which thing *Gowry* onely did) and called *Arran* backe to the Court, but they were ſo farre off from doing of that, as they ſecretly practiſed to take him ſuddenly againe. Hereupon they were commanded to depart out of the Realme by a day appointed; *Marre*, *Glamis*, the Commendators

mendators of *Dryburg*, and *Paſlet*, and others, went into *Ireland*; *Boyd*, *Zeſter-Weim*, *Locheluin*, went into the Low-Countries, and *Dunfermellin* went into *France*: *Angus* was confined into *Angus*, onely *Gowry* hauing a new plot in his head, tarried after the time prefixed, to his owne deſtruction.

And then the King to ſhew himſelfe a Prince, began to exerciſe his Regall authoritie. And whereas theſe Conſpirators in an aſſembly called by their owne priuate authoritie, had enacted and recorded, That this ſurprize of the King was iuſt; he on the contrary part declared, in a great aſſembly of the Eſtates, that the ſame was traiterous. Although the Miniſters (as if they were the ſupreme Iudges in the Realme) in a Synod called by their owne authoritie, pronounced the ſame to bee iuſt, and iudged all them that did not approue and allow the ſame, worthy to be excommunicate.

Anno 1584.

IN the beginning of the Spring, ſome of the *Scots* returned out of *Ireland*, vpon a pact made betweene them and *Gowry*, who had conſpired anew with diuers, to take the King againe; profeſſing that they ſet before their eies nothing elſe but the glory of God, the truth of Religion, the ſecuritie of the King and Realme, and the amitie with *England*, againſt them who by ſiniſter meanes (as they gaue out) abuſed the

King, not yet come vnto ſufficient age. But the King hearing hereof, ſent Colonell *Stewart* to apprehend *Gowry*, who lay at the Hauen of *Dondee*, as if hee had beene going out of the land; who after hee had defended himſelfe an houre or two in his houſe, was taken and carried away vnto priſon.

In the meane time the other Conſpirators tooke *Sterling* by ſudden ſurprize, and the Caſtle was yeelded vnto them; yet by and by they leaue them both, becauſe the King diſplaied his banners, as ready to fight, not ſo many met, as *Gowry* had promiſed, and their hope of *Engliſh* helpe failed them; and ſo for feare, *Marre*, *Glamis* and *Angus*, who was come to them, and others fled into *England*, humbly beſeeching the Queene to releeue their neceſſities, and to intreat the King for them: Foraſmuch as they had loſt all their goods and the Kings fauour, for ſhewing their loue to her and *England*, vnto whom ſhee thought good to ſhew ſome fauour, that they might bee oppoſed againſt the contrary faction in *Scotland*, and the rather for that the Miniſters bruted, that the King was vpon the point to fall from his Religion vpon no other ground (though they fained other matters) but for that hee vpon a filiall loue inclined to his mother, and receiued into his eſpeciall fauour and grace thoſe whom he knew to bee moſt addicted vnto his mother.

In the meane time *Gowry* was arraigned before his Peeres at *Sterling*, vpon theſe points: That he intended and began a new conſpiracie againſt the King, whom he had alſo kept priſoner in his houſe beforetime: That he conferred by night with the ſeruants of *Angus*, to ſeize vpon *Perth* and *Sterling*: That he had reſiſted the Kings authoritie at *Dondee*; had conceiued a conſpiracie againſt the life of the King, and his mother. Laſtly, that he had asked counſell of *Maclena* the Witch: and being

being found guiltie by his Peeres, he was in the euening beheaded; but his seruants sowing the head vnto the body, buried it incontinently.

About the same time were some practises in *England*, but with no successe, in the behalfe of the Q. of *Scotland*; of which the chiefest was *Francis Throgmorton* eldest sonne to *Iohn Throgmorton* Iustice of *Chester*; who fell into suspicion out of his letters vnto the Queene of *Scotland*, which were intercepted. As soone as hee was taken, and began to confesse some things, *Thomas* Lord *Paget*, and *Charles Arundel* a Courtier, fled out of the land into *France*, who with other Papists, lamenting their estate among themselues, complained, that the Queene by the wicked and craftie dealings of *Leicester* and *Walsingham*, was estranged from them: That they were abused with contumelies and reproaches: That strange kinds of subtiltie were inuented against them: That secret snares were so cunningly laid, that whether they would or no, they should bee brought within the compasse of treason; and that they had no hope of safetie at home. And to say the truth, very craftie trickes and deuices were deuised and vsed to trie mens minds; counterfeit letters vnder the names of the Queene of *Scotland* and the fugitiues couertly sent and left in the houses of Papists, spies dispersed in euery place, to hearken after rumours, and to take aduantage of words: bringers of tales, whatsoeuer information they brought, were receiued and entertained; very many examined vpon suspicion, and amongst them, *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*, and his sonne *Philip* Earle of *Arundel* commanded to keepe his house, and his wife deliuered vnto the keeping of *Thomas Sherley*; *William Howard*, brother to the Earle, and *Henry Howard* their Vncle, brother vnto the Duke of *Norfolke*, oftentimes examined concerning letters from the

Queene of *Scotland*, from *Charles Paget*, &c. who eſcaped very narrowly for all his prudence and innocencie.

The Lord *Paget* and *Charles Arundel* being arriued in *France*, were watched and obſerued by *Edward Stafford* the Queenes Lieger Embaſſador with the French King; but yet he could not finde out their purpoſes and practiſes. Yet dealt he with the French King, that they, *Morgan* and other Engliſhmen, plotting againſt their Prince and Countrey, might be remoued out of *France*. He was anſwered, *If they practiſed any thing in France, that the King would puniſh them according to the Law; that the King could not take knowledge and doe iuſtice on them if they had plotted any thing in England. That all Kingdomes are free vnto them that flie thither for ſuccour, that it behoueth all Kings, euery one to defend and maintaine the liberties of his Kingdome, and that Queene Elizabeth not long ſince had receiued into her kingdome Montgomery, the Prince of Condee, and other Frenchmen, and that at this very time the Embaſſador of the King of Nauarre practiſing ſome plots, lieth in England.*

About ſuch time as theſe things were done, *Bernardino de Mendoza*, Embaſſador for the King of *Spaine* in *England*, paſſed in great ſecrecie into *France*, fretting and fuming as if he had beene driuen violently out of *England*, and the right of an Embaſſador thereby violated, when he himſelfe being a man of a violent and turbulent ſpirit, abuſing the ſacred right of Embaſſade vnto treaſon, was to be purſued (as many were of opinion) after the ancient manner of ſeueritie, with fire and ſword, and commanded to depart out of the Kingdome; for he medled and was acceſſary with the wicked plots of *Throgmorton* and others, to bring in forraine power into *England*, & to diſpoſſeſſe the Queene. And when he was mildly reproued of thoſe things, he

was

was ſo farre from wiping the obiections away with a modeſt anſwer, that he re-charged againe the Queene and her Counſellors with their detention of the money of the Genowayes, with the ſuccours giuen vnto the Eſtates of the Netherlands, and vnto the Duke of *Aniou*, and vnto *Don Antonio* the Portugall, and with the piracies and ſpoiles made by *Drake*.

Yet leſt the King of *Spaine* ſhould thinke that the lewd parts of *Mendoza* were not reuenged, but the rights of an Embaſſador violated, *William Waad* Clerke of the Counſell is ſent into *Spaine*, who ſhould plainly informe him how badly he had diſcharged the office of an Embaſſador, and withall ſhould ſignifie (leſt the Queene in ſending him away might ſeeme to renounce the ancient amitie betweene the Kingdomes) that all kinde and friendly offices ſhould be done on her part, if he ſent any other as his Embaſſador, who was deſirous and willing to conſeru e the amitie betweene them ; conditionally that the ſame courteſies might be ſhewne vnto her Embaſſadour in *Spaine*. But when the King of *Spaine* would not vouchſafe to admit *Waad* vnto his ſpeech, but referred him to his Counſellors, he taking it in euill part, without feare ſpake openly, that it was a moſt vſuall and receiued cuſtome, that Embaſſadors ſhould be admitted to the preſence of Princes, euen by their enemies, and in the time of the hotteſt warres : And that *Charles* the fifth the Emperour, father to the King of *Spaine*, admitted to his preſence the Herald, who from the French King denounced warre againſt him, and in plaine termes denied to acquaint the Counſellors with his errand. And when *Idiaques* Secretary to the King of *Spaine*, could by no policie get out of him what his meſſage was, at laſt he receiued all the matter from *Mendoza* lurking ſecretly in *France*. Then he laying aſide his publike perſon,

ſon, in familiar manner ſignified vnto *Waad*, that he was very ſorry that there were ſome who cunningly laboured to breake the amitie, and to nouriſh diſcord betweene the Princes; that wrong was done to the Catholike King himſelfe, not vnto his Embaſſadors, firſt to *Deſpes*, and now vnto *Mendoza*, and that there was no cauſe why he ſhould accuſe vnto the King any more *Mendoza*, who was ſufficiently diſgraced by his ignominious ſending out of *England*; or complaine that he was not admitted: And that the Catholike King did no more but like for like, ſince *Mendoza* had beene diſmiſſed without audience; and as ſhe had referred *Mendoza* vnto her Counſellors, ſo the King in like manner put him off vnto the Cardinall *Granuellan*. When *Waad* anſwered, that there was much difference betweene him who had neuer offended the Catholike King, and *Mendoza* who had offended grieuouſly againſt the Queene, and had a long time not vouchſafed to come vnto her, and had committed things vnfitting an Embaſſadour. Yet he could not be admitted; and not being heard, he returned home. The moſt of the crimes which he was to obiect againſt *Mendoza*, were taken out of the confeſſion of *Throgmorton*: Who being readie to be apprehended, had ſecretly ſent a deske (wherein his ſecrets lay) vnto *Mendoza*. His other desks being narrowly ſearched, there were found two Rolls or Liſts, in one of the which the names of the Hauens of *England* which were fit to land Forces, in the other the names of the Noblemen and Gentlemen of *England* who profeſſed the Roman Catholike Religion, were written downe. As ſoone as he ſaw them brought out and ſhewne to him, he cried out often that he neuer ſaw them before, and that they were foiſted in to worke his deſtruction, yea euen when he was examined vpon the racke: but laid againe vpon the racke, he denied not

to answer vnto their Interrogatories. Being asked of those Rolls or Catalogues, and for what purpose they were written, he made this historicall narration : *That he a few yeeres since going vnto the waters at the Spaw, did consult and deuise with Ieney and Fra Inglefield how England might be inuaded, and the forme of gouernment thereof altered and changed ; and vpon that reason that he set downe the names of the Hauens and of the Noblemen. That Morgan by his letters had signified vnto him out of France, that the Catholike Princes had now consulted and determined that England should be inuaded, and the Queene of Scotland deliuered vnder the conduct of Guise as Generall, who wanted nothing but money and some bands of men in England to ioyne with him to his helpe. To procure these things, that Charles Paget vnder the counterfet name of* Mope *was sent secretly into Sussex, where the Duke of Guise determined to land his Armie. That he acquainted Mendoza, who had notice and knowledge of these things already by the Conspirators, with the matter, and told him the names of the Hauens and Noblemen. Neither did he denie that he promised his furtherance, and withall to haue admonished Mendoza with what Noblemen he being a publike person should treat of this matter, which he being a priuate man could not doe without great danger : and that he shewed a way to him how some principall Catholikes as soone as the forraine Forces were landed, might leuie souldiers in the Queenes name, and then to ioyne them to the forraine Forces.* These things he voluntarily confessed.

Yet at the Barre in the Guildhall of *London*, being accused of these things, he precisely denied euery one of these things, and auerred that they were meere deuices of his owne head, to auoid the torment of the racke againe; and openly accused the Queene of crueltie, and the examiners of falshood, deuising an escapatorie or starting-hole by the space of time which was betweene the

the fault committed and the iudgement. Foraſmuch as in the thirteenth yeere of Queene ELIZABETH certaine things were made treaſons, for the which none ſhould be arraigned except the delinquent were indited within ſix moneths after the fault committed, and the crime was proued by the teſtimonie and oath of two men, or by the voluntary confeſſion of the offender, without violence; and that this time was expired long ſince, and that therefore he was not to be arraigned for the ſame. But the Iudges told him that the crimes obiected vnto him, were not of that kinde, but that he was liable to the Law by an ancient law of treaſon made in the time of King *Edward* the third, which admitteth no circumſcription of time or proofe, and that by that law the ſentence of death was pronounced againſt him. Being afterward perſwaded, he fled vnto the mercy of the Queene, and againe confeſſed in a writing more fully, all things which he had ſaid before; which things, not perſeuering in his words, he began to denie againe at the gallowes, but in vaine.

M. *Waad* being returned out of *Spaine*, was ſent to the Q. of *Scotland*, about a treatie to be had between her and Sir *Walter Mildmay*, which was propounded two yeeres ſince, and interrupted, as is ſaid before, vnto whom ſhe affirmed with great proteſtations, with what ſinceritie ſhe hath dealt about this treatie, and withall, deuoteth herſelfe and all her labour vnto the Queene, and promiſeth to depend wholly on her, if onely ſhee would vouchſafe her ſo much loue and honour. Moreouer, ſhe firmely promiſed, ſo that the treatie might goe forward, that ſhe would intercede, yea, and bring to paſſe that her ſonne ſhould receiue *Angus* and the other Noblemen of *Scotland* into fauour; and alſo that the Biſhops of *Roſſe* and *Glaſco*, her Agents and Miniſters in *France*, ſhould not plot any thing againſt the Queene and

and Kingdome of *England*, and that ſhee would haue nothing to doe with the Rebels or Fugitiues of *England*.

Queene ELIZABETH was glad to heare theſe things, and whereas that *Angus*, *Marre*, *I. Hamilton*, and *Glammys* were fled into *England*, and making vſe of the opportunitie offered, ſent *Beale* vnto the Queene of *Scotland*, who together with the Earle of *Shrewsburie*, ſhould ſhew her, that if ſhee continued in the ſame minde with which ſhee had acquainted Maſter *Waad*, that *Mildmay* ſhould come forthwith vnto her, and treat with her about her libertie, and then ſhould talke with her in the meane while to entreat her ſonne the King to reſtore the *Scottiſh* Fugitiues, and to tell her that they had committed no fault againſt the King, but againſt ſome violent Counſellors who gaue him euill counſell; and laſtly, that as much as they could they ſhould get out of her the practiſes of the *Guiſes*. She being a wiſe woman, anſwered; *That ſhe much deſired that the treatie might goe forward, and that ſhee requeſted earneſtly of Queene* ELIZABETH *as of her eldeſt ſiſter, vnto whom ſhee gaue all honour. That ſhee had propounded nothing vnto Maſter* Waad, *but vpon condition, and that hee whom ſhee thought to bee an honeſt man would not ſay otherwiſe. For the reſtoring of the* Scots, *that her labour therein would be very neceſſary, and ſhould not be wanting if ſhe certainly knew any good would redound to her ſelfe and her ſonne, ſo that they would humbly ſubmit themſelues vnto the King, and be obedient vnto him; but if that were not done, that then the Queene ſhould giue aid vnto her ſonne, that they might bee reduced vnto their obedience. Moreouer, ſhe doth not cloake nor hide it, that ſhe when ſhe was ſickly, committed her ſelfe and her ſonne vnto the care and truſt of the* Guiſe *her moſt deare Couſin, of whoſe purpoſes or intents ſhee knew nothing,*

neither would ſhe diſcouer them if ſhe knew them, vnleſſe a firme aſſurance were giuen her of her libertie; for that it was the part of an vnaduiſed perſon to forſake her aſſured friends, for an vncertaine hope. She requeſted that ſhe being an abſolute Prince, might bee no more diſhonourably vſed, than Queene MARIE *did ſometime deale with her ſelfe, being at that time her ſubiect, and impriſoned; or than the* French *King did vſe the King of* Nauarre, *being alſo his ſubiect, and bore armes againſt him. Shee alſo requeſted that the treatie might bee brought to an end before any in* Scotland *were ſent Embaſſadour about that matter. And for that the* French *King had acknowledged her ordinarie Embaſſadour, and* Seton *ſent by her ſonne into* France, *as Embaſſadours from Princes of the ſame authoritie and conioyned, ſhe gaue that honour to the Queene, to publiſh this Aſſociation of her and her ſonne in* Scotland, *and beſought her not to preiudicate the ſame.* Theſe things were heard, but by terrors obiected, ſhifted off and deluded by the meanes of them who knew how to nouriſh the hatred betweene the women that bore no inward good will one to the other, eſpecially by the diſcouerie of the papers which *Chreyton* a Scottiſh Ieſuite ſailing into *Scotland*, and intercepted by ſome Sea-rouers of *Holland*, tore in peeces: but the torne papers caſt out of the ſhip, were caſt againe into the ſhip by a contrary wind, not without a miracle (as *Chreyton* himſelfe ſaid) and glewed together by the great labour and ſingular skill of *Waad*, laid open and diſcouered new plots of the Pope, of the King of *Spaine*, and the *Guiſes*, about the inuading of *England*.

Therefore to occurre vnto and preuent the wicked counſels and ſecret policies of ſeditious perſons, and to prouide for the Queenes ſafetie, vpon the which both the Kingdome and Religion depended: Many men (*Leiceſter* being the beginner) of all eſtates in *England*,

England, out of common charitie, whileſt they feared not her, but were fearefull of the other, bound themſelues in a certaine Aſſociation with their mutuall oathes, ſubſcriptions and ſeales, to perſecute with all their forces vnto death, them who did attempt any thing againſt the Queene.

The Queene of *Scotland* who quickly vnderſtood that a way was made by it to make her away, wearie of her long miſerie, and fearing worſe things, propounded theſe things to the Queene and her Counſellors, by *Nauus* her Secretarie: *If her libertie might be granted, and that ſhe might be aſſured of the ſincere minde and loue of Queene* ELIZABETH, *that ſhe would binde her ſelfe in a moſt ſtrict league of amitie with the Queene, moſt dutifully honour and obſerue her before all other Chriſtian Princes, forget all offences paſt, acknowledge her the true and moſt rightfull Queene of England, and that ſhe would not challenge during her life any right vnto the Crowne of England, nor practiſe any thing againſt her directly or indirectly; and vtterly to renounce the title and armes of England, which ſhe had vſed by the commandement of* Francis *her husband; and alſo vnto the Bull of the Pope about her depoſition and depriuation: Yea and alſo enter into that* Aſſociation, *for the ſecuritie of the Queene; and into a defenſiue league (ſauing the ancient league betweene France and Scotland) yet ſo that nothing be done in the life of the Queene, or after her death, which may be hurtfull vnto her, her ſonne, and their heires in ſucceſſion, before they be heard in the Aſſemblie of the Eſtates of England. For more aſſurance of theſe things, that ſhe will remaine as an hoſtage in England, and if ſhe may haue leaue to depart out of England, that ſhe will giue pledges. Moreouer, that ſhe will alter nothing in Scotland, ſo that the exerciſe of her religion be permitted only to her and her familie. That ſhe will for euer forget all the wrongs done her*

in Scotland, (but yet vnder that condition, that the things publiſhed to her infamie may be repealed.) That ſhe will commend vnto the King Counſellors which were deſirous to keepe peace with England; and would reconcile vnto him as much as lay in her the Noblemen that were fled into England, if they would humbly acknowledge their fault, and that the Queene gaue her word to giue aid vnto the King againſt them, if at any time they fell or departed from their obedience. That ſhe would doe nothing about her ſonnes mariage, without the priuitie of the Queene; and that ſhe would not doe any thing without the priuitie of her ſonne: ſo ſhe requeſted that her ſonne might be ioyned in this treatie, whereby it may be made more ſtrong. She doubted not but that the King of France would be contented, and binde himſelfe by promiſe together with the Princes of the houſe of Lorraine, for the performance of theſe agreements. She alſo deſired that theſe things might be anſwered with ſpeed, leſt any thing might happen in the meane while to hinder it. Laſtly ſhe earneſtly deſired, that ſhe might haue the fauour to haue more libertie, that therein the loue of the Queene might appeare more euidently to her.

Out of theſe things, as matters of much honour and dutie, Queene ELIZABETH ſeemed to reioyce; and it was then thought ſhe was inclined to deliuer her, although there were ſome in *England* who ſetting new feares before her eyes, drew her from it. But the matter being well followed, and in a manner concluded, was moſt of all hindered by the Scots of the contrary faction, who exclaimed that Queene ELIZABETH was vtterly vndone, if ſhe were deliuered out of priſon, and both the Realmes would be vndone, if ſhe were ioyned with her ſonne in the kingdome of *Scotland*; and if the exerciſe of the Roman Religion were permitted vnto her, if it were but in her Court.

And

And ſome of the Scottiſh Miniſters in *Scotland*, out of their Pulpits, and in their meetings, rail-d moſt vilely againſt their Queene: they ſpoke ill of the King and his Counſellors, and being commanded to appeare in perſon, obſtinately and contemptuouſly denied ſo to doe, as if the Pulpits were exempted from the Kings authoritie, and that Eccleſiaſticall perſons were not ſubiect to the King, but to the Presbyterie; directly againſt the lawes made this yeere in the Aſſemblie of the States, in the which the Kings authoritie ouer all perſons both Eccleſiaſticall and Laicks, was confirmed for euer: *viz.* That the King and his Counſellors are competent Iudges in all cauſes; and they who would not obey the ſame, are to be accounted for Traitors. The aſſemblies of Presbyteries (as alſo thoſe of Laicks) as well generall as particular, were prohibited, as hauing arrogated without the Kings priuitie, boundleſſe authoritie, and when they liſt of meeting together, and of preſcribing lawes vnto the King and vnto all the Realme. And alſo the popular equalitie of Miniſters was abrogated, and the dignitie and iuriſdiction were reſtored vnto the Biſhops, whoſe vocation the Presbyteries had condemned as Antichriſtian. And the ſlanderous writings againſt the King, his mother, and Counſellors, were forbidden, and by name the Hiſtorie of *George Buchanan* and his Dialogue, *De iure regni apud Scotos*, as thoſe which containe many things fit to be corrected and blotted out of memory. And alſo many men blamed *Patrick Grey* the Scottiſh Embaſſador in *England*, as if he (won by bribes) had babbled out much matter to the hurt of the King and his mother, and had hindered that theſe moſt equall conditions propounded from the Kings mother, and ſent by *Naue*, were not admitted.

Whereupon ſhee hauing her patience oftentimes wronged, fell into a grieuous ſorrow and indignation, and

and ſo great was her deſire of libertie, that ſhe gaue her minde and eares as well vnto the treacherous counſell of her enemies, as vnto the pernicious deuices of her friends: And ſo much the more, for that as ſhe had perſwaded her ſelfe that the *Aſſociation* was made to endanger her life; ſo now ſhe had an inkling that by the policie of ſome men ſhe was to be taken away from the keeping of the Earle of *Shrewsburie*, (who being an vpright man, did not fauour their plots) and to be committed vnto new Keepers. And that it might be done with a better colour, and the credit of the Earle of *Shrewsburie*, which was approued and well knowne, might not ſeeme to be ſuſpected, (for it was not thought good to call in queſtion the reputation of ſo great a man, which yet they had cracked by ſecret ſlanders, vpon the finding fault of his vnreaſonable wife) ſuſpicions were laid hold on, as if the plot of getting her libertie had beene begun, out of certaine Emblemes ſent by ſome vnto her. Thoſe were, *Argus* with many eyes, lulled aſleepe by *Mercury* playing tunes on his pipe, with this little ſentence, EX OQVIVM TOT LVMINA CLAVSIT. Another was *Mercury* ſtriking off the head of *Argus* keeping *Io*. A graft or cyon engrafted in a ſtocke and bound with bands, yet flouriſhing, and written about it, PER VINCVLA CRESCO. Another was a Palme tree much laden, but riſing againe, with theſe words; PONDERIBVS VIRTVS INNATA RESISTIT. Alſo an Anagram, VERITAS ARMATA, out of her name, MARIA STEVARTA, the letters being tranſpoſed, which was taken in the worſe part. Moreouer, there were letters ſhewne as if they had beene intercepted, in the which the friends of the Queene complained that all their hope was quite cut off, if ſhe was but put into the cuſtodie of the Puritans. Vnder this colour ſhe was taken

taken from *Shrewsbury*, and committed to the custody of *Amias Paulet* and *Drewgh Drury*, and that of purpose (as some thinke) that being driuen into desperation, she might be more apt to take abrupt counsels, and more easie to be intrapped. For *Shrewsbury* in all that fifteene yeeres, had so prouidently kept her, that there was no place left of plots from her or against her. And now also she dealt more earnestly with the *Pope* and the King of *Spaine*, by *Francis Inglefield*, to hasten that which was begun, and that with all expedition, whatsoeuer became of her. And *Leicester* (who was thought to study how to deceiue the right owner of the succession) secretly sent ruffians (as many said) to murther her. But *Drury* an honest minded and vpright man, detested the wickednesse from his heart, and suffered them not to haue any accesse vnto her. Yet some spies secretly crept in, and there were closely sent as well counterfeit as true letters, by which her womanish weaknesse might be thrust forward to her destruction, as we will say hereafter.

And to turne quite away the loue of Queene ELIZABETH from her, it was whispered in her eares, that *Allan* for the Catholikes Ecclesiasticks of *England*, and *Inglefield* for the Laicks, and the Bishop of *Rosse* for the Queene of *Scotland*, with common content, and with the consent of the *Pope* and the King of *Spaine*, had decreed that Queene ELIZABETH was to be deposed from her Crowne, and the King of *Scotland* was to be disinherited of the kingdome of *England* as manifest and open Heretiques; the Queene of *Scotland* to be maried to some Catholike Nobleman of *England*, he to bechosen King of *England* by the *English* Catholikes, and the election to bee confirmed by the *Pope*: The lawfull children of this man by the Queene of *Scotland*, to be declared successors in the kingdome.

And

And all theſe things vpon the credit of *Hart* a Prieſt. But who this *Engliſhman* ſhould be, *Walſingham* made diligent inquiry, but he found not who he was. But the ſuſpicion fell vpon *Henry Howard* brother to the D. of *Norfolke*, who was of the chiefe Nobility, a ſingle man, and an earneſt Roman Catholike, and amongſt them of great reputation and account.

Anno 1585.

IN the beginning of this yeare was a Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter*, where the aforenamed Aſſociation was confirmed by the common conſent of both the houſes. And it was enacted, *that foure and twenty or more of the Priuy Counſell and Nobility of the land choſen by the Queenes letters Patents, might inquire of them, who ſhall inuade the Realme, raiſe rebellion or attempt to hurt or kill the Queenes perſon for any whoſoeuer, or by them whoſoeuer, who may challenge right vnto the crowne of* England. *But he for whom or by whom they ſhall attempt, ſhall bee made vtterly vncapable of the Crowne of England, and ſhall be vtterly depriued of all right thereunto, and ſhall be purſued euen vnto death by all the ſubiects if he ſhall be iudged, and publikely declared by thoſe foure and twenty men to be priuy to ſuch an Inuaſion, rebellion or hurt.*

There were alſo acts made againſt Prieſts and Ieſuits to this effect; *That they ſhould depart out of the Realme within XL. daies. That for them who from thenceforth came into the Realme and ſtaied, it ſhould be treaſon.*

That

That they who knowing them to be such, doe releeue, receiue or helpe them, should be fellons (so they call all capitall offences vnder treason.)

That they who are brought vp in the Seminaries, if within six moneths after proclamation made they doe not returne, and doe not make submission vnto the Queene, before the Bishop, or two Iustices of peace, shall be guilty of treason.

But they who shall submit themselues, if within ten yeeres they come vnto the Court, or neerer it than ten miles, their submission shall be void.

They, whosoeuer shall send any money by any manner of meanes, vnto the Students in the Seminaries, shall incurre a Præmunire (that is, perpetuall imprisonment and losse of all their goods.)

If any of the Peeres of the land, that is to say, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Barons, Lords of the Parliament, shall offend against these lawes, he shall be tried by his Peeres.

They who shall know any such Iesuits and others, to lie hid in the Realme, and shall not discouer them within twelue daies, shall be fined at the Queenes pleasure, and put into prison.

If any man be suspected to be a Iesuite or Priest, and doe not submit himselfe vnto examination for his contempt, he shall be imprisoned vntill he doe submit himselfe.

He that shall send his children or any others vnto the Seminaries and Colleges of the Roman profession, shall lose and forfeit a hundred pounds of English *money.*

And they who are sent, shall not succeed in their heritages, nor enioy the goods that may fall vnto them by any manner of meanes.

And so shall they also who within a yeare after they returne home from the Seminaries, except they doe conforme themselues vnto the Church of England.

If the keepers of hauens permit others, beside Sailers,

Mariners, and Merchants, to paſſe ouer the ſea, without the Queenes licence, or ſix of her Counſellors, ſhall loſe their places, and the Maſters of the ſhip who ſhall carry them out ſhall loſe and forfeit their ſhips and goods, and be impriſoned a whole yeere.

With the ſeuerity of theſe lawes the Roman Catholikes in *England* were very much terrified, and amongſt them *Philip Howard* Earle of *Arundell*, eldeſt ſonne vnto the Duke of *Norfolke*, inſomuch that he determined to depart out of the Land, leſt he ſhould offend againſt them. This man by the benignitie of the Queene was reſtored in bloud three yeeres before this time, & a little after he fell out of the Queenes fauor & grace by the ſecret inſimulation of ſome great Courtiers, had ſecretly reconciled himſelfe vnto the Romane religion, and vſed a very auſtere life. Hereupon he was once or twice called before the Counſell, and cleared himſelfe of the obiections laid to his charge, but yet he was commanded to keepe his houſe. After ſix moneths more or leſſe he was diſcharged, and came to the Parlament; yet the firſt day when the Sermon was preached, he ſtole couertly out of the company. The Parlament being ended, as being reſolued to depart away out of the Land, in his letters written vnto the Queene, which yet he commanded to be deliuered after he was gone ouer, he made a long and lamentable complaint *of the enuie of his mighty aduerſaries, vnto which he was forced to yeeld, foraſmuch as they triumphed ouer his innocencie, he repeateth the vnfortunate deaths of his Anceſtors, that is to ſay, of his great grandfather, who was condemned and neuer called to triall, of his grandfather, who was beheaded for trifling matters, and of his Father, who, as he affirmed, was circumuented by his enemies, and who neuer carried any euill minde toward his Prince or Countrey. But that he, leſt he ſhould runne into the ſame*

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hard fortune his father had, forſooke his country (that he might ſpend his time in the ſeruice of God, and in the works tending to the ſaluation of his ſoule) but not his loyalty and fidelity toward his Prince. Before theſe letters were deliuered, he went into Suſſex, and being ready to take ſhip in an obſcure creeke, was taken and apprehended by the treachery of his ſeruants, and diſcouery of the maſter of the ſhip, and committed vnto the Tower of London.

At that time there was priſoner in the ſame place *Henry Percy* Earle of *Northumberland*, a man of a liuely ſpirit and courage (brother of *Thomas* beheaded at Yorke) ſuſpected to be priuy vnto the plot of *Throgmorton*, the Lord *Paget* and the *Guiſes*, for the inuading of *England*, and deliuering of the Queene of *Scotland*, vnto whom alwaies he had borne a great loue and affection. In the moneth of Iune he was found dead in his bed, ſhot thorow with three bullets about the left pappe, the doores being bolted on the inſide. The Crowners queſts according to the cuſtome, taken out of the next neighbours, and ſworne by the Crowner, viewing the body, conſidering the place, hauing found the piſtoll, with the gunpowder in the chamber, his man who bought the Piſtall, and the ſeller thereof, being examined, gaue their verdict, that the Earle did murther himſelfe. The third day after, the Noblemen of the Realme came in great number, and met in the Starre chamber, where *Thomas Bromly* Lord Chauncellor of *England* ſuccinctly declared, that the Earle had plotted and deuiſed treaſon againſt his Queene and Countrey, which being now to come vnto light, and to be diſcouered, vpon the guiltineſſe of his conſcience had murdered himſelfe. But that the multitude and common people, who alwaies conſter things to the worſt, might be ſatisfied, he commanded the Kings

Anno 1586.

IN this yeare *Philip* Earle of *Arundell*, who had laine now a whole yeare in priſon, was accuſed in the Starre Chamber, *That he had releeued Prieſts againſt the lawes, that he had had commerce of letters with* Allan, *and* Perſons *the Ieſuite, enemies of the Queene, and that he had derogated in writing from the Iuſtice of the Land, and imagined to depart out of the land without licence.* Hee profeſſing his dutie and ſeruice vnto the Queene, and his loue and good will vnto his countrey, excuſed himſelfe with great modeſty, by the loue he had to the Catholike Religion, and by his ignorance of the lawes, and ſubmitted himſelfe vnto the cenſure and iudgement of the Lords, who fined him at tenne thouſand pounds, and to be impriſoned during the Queenes pleaſure.

In the moneth of Iuly a moſt pernicious Conſpiracie againſt Queene ELIZABETH was found out and came to light, which I will briefly deſcribe.

At Eaſter, this yeere, *Iohn Ballard* a Prieſt of the Seminarie of *Rhemes*, who had viſited many Roman Catholikes in *England* and *Scotland*, returned into *France*, accompanied with *Mawd* one of *Walſinghams* ſpies, a moſt craftie diſſembler, who had bleared his eyes; and talked with *Bernardino Mendoza*, at that time ordinary Embaſſadour of the King of *Spaine* in *France*, and with *Charles Paget* a man exceedingly addicted to the Queene of *Scotland*, about the inuading of *England*, ſaying that now was a moſt fit time, all the militarie

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men being abſent in the Low Countries: and that they could not hope for a fitter time, ſince that the Pope, the King of *Spaine*, *Guiſe* and *Parma*, were determined to ſet vpon *England*, by that way to turne the warre out of the Low Countries. And though *Paget* held it cleere, that it would be in vaine as long as the Queene liued, yet *Ballard* was ſent backe into *England*, being ſworne to procure aid and helpe vnto the Inuaders, and libertie vnto the Queene of *Scotland*, and that with all ſpeed, and as ſoone as he could.

At Whitſontide following this *Ballard* apparelled like a ſouldier, and called by a counterfet name, *Captaine Foſcu*, arriued in *England*, and talked at *London* about theſe things with *Anthony Babington* of *Dethick* in *Derbiſhire*, a young man well borne, rich, of an excellent wit, and learned aboue his yeeres, who being addicted to the Roman Religion, had a little before ſtollen ouer into *France*, without any licence, and had beene very familiar with *Thomas Morgan*, one that belonged vnto the Queene of *Scotland*, and with the Biſhop of *Glaſco* her Embaſſador, which two in extolling continually the heroicall vertues of ſuch a Queene, had ſhewed ſuch certaine hopes of great honours and preferments by her, of which the ambitious young man quickly tooke hold: they alſo commended him, thinking of no ſuch matter, in their letters to the Queene of *Scotland*. For when he was returned into *England*, ſhe curteouſly ſaluted him by her letters, and from that time *Morgan* vſed to ſend ouer, and to conuey letters vnto her by his meanes, vntill ſuch time as ſhe was put ouer to be kept by *Amyas Paulet*. Forthen the young man ſeeing the danger, left off: With this *Babington*, I ſay, did *Ballard* deale about this matter. He was fully perſwaded that the Inuaſion of *England* would come to nothing ſo long as Queene ELIZABETH

and ſo great was her deſire of libertie, that ſhe gaue her minde and cares as well vnto the treacherous counſell of her enemies, as vnto the pernicious deuices of her friends: And ſo much the more, for that as ſhe had perſwaded her ſelfe that the *Aſſociation* was made to endanger her life; ſo now ſhe had an inkling that by the policie of ſome men ſhe was to be taken away from the keeping of the Earle of *Shrewsburie*, (who being an vpright man, did not fauour their plots) and to be committed vnto new Keepers. And that it might be done with a better colour, and the credit of the Earle of *Shrewsburie*, which was approued and well knowne, might not ſeeme to be ſuſpected, (for it was not thought good to call in queſtion the reputation of ſo great a man, which yet they had cracked by ſecret ſlanders, vpon the finding fault of his vnreaſonable wife) ſuſpicions were laid hold on, as if the plot of getting her libertie had beene begun, out of certaine Emblemes ſent by ſome vnto her. Thoſe were, *Argus* with many eyes, lulled aſleepe by *Mercury* playing tunes on his pipe, with this little ſentence, ELOQVIVM TOT LVMINA CLAVSIT. Another was *Mercury* ſtriking off the head of *Argus* keeping *Io*. A graft or cyon engrafted in a ſtocke and bound with bands, yet flouriſhing, and written about it, PER VINCVLA CRESCO. Another was a Palme tree much laden, but riſing againe, with theſe words, PONDERIBVS VIRTVS INNATA RESISTIT. Alſo an Anagram, VERITAS ARMATA, out of her name, MARIA STEVARTA, the letters being tranſpoſed, which was taken in the worſe part. Moreouer, there were letters ſhewne as if they had beene intercepted, in the which the friends of the Queene complained that all their hope was quite cut off, if ſhe was but put into the cuſtodie of the Puritans. Vnder this colour ſhe was

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taken from *Shrewsbury*, and committed to the custody of *Amias Paulet* and *Drewgh Drury*, and that of purpose (as some thinke) that being driuen into desperation, she might be more apt to take abrupt counsels, and more easie to be intrapped. For *Shrewsbury* in all that fifteene yeeres, had so prouidently kept her, that there was no place left of plots from her or against her. And now also she dealt more earnestly with the *Pope* and the King of *Spaine*, by *Francis Inglefield*, to hasten that which was begun, and that with all expedition, whatsoeuer became of her. And *Leicester* (who was thought to study how to deceiue the right owner of the succession) secretly sent ruffians (as many said) to murther her. But *Drury* an honest minded and vpright man, detested the wickednesse from his heart, and suffered them not to haue any accesse vnto her. Yet some spies secretly crept in, and there were closely sent as well counterfeit as true letters, by which her womanish weaknesse might be thrust forward to her destruction, as we will say hereafter.

And to turne quite away the loue of Queene ELIZABETH from her, it was whispered in her eares, that *Allan* for the Catholikes Ecclesiasticks of *England*, and *Inglefield* for the Laicks, and the Bishop of *Rosse* for the Queene of *Scotland*, with common consent, and with the consent of the *Pope* and the King of *Spaine*, had decreed that Queene ELIZABETH was to be deposed from her Crowne, and the King of *Scotland* was to be disinherited of the kingdome of *England* as manifest and open Heretiques; the Queene of *Scotland* to be maried to some Catholike Nobleman of *England*, he to be chosen King of *England* by the *English* Catholikes, and the election to bee confirmed by the *Pope*: The lawfull children of this man by the Queene of *Scotland*, to be declared successors in the kingdome.

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And all theſe things vpon the credit of *Hart* a Prieſt. But who this *Engliſhman* ſhould be, *Walſingham* made diligent inquiry, but he found not who he was. But the ſuſpicion fell vpon *Henry Howard* brother to the D. of *Norfolke*, who was of the chiefe Nobility, a ſingle man, and an earneſt Roman Catholike, and amongſt them of great reputation and account.

Anno 1585.

IN the beginning of this yeare was a Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter*, where the aforenamed Aſſociation was confirmed by the common conſent of both the houſes. And it was enacted, *that foure and twenty or more of the Priuy Counſell and Nobility of the land choſen by the Queenes letters Patents, might inquire of them, who ſhall inuade the Realme, raiſe rebellion or attempt to hurt or kill the Queenes perſon for any whoſoeuer, or by them whoſoeuer, who may challenge right vnto the crowne of* England. *But he for whom or by whom they ſhall attempt, ſhall bee made vtterly vncapable of the Crowne of England, and ſhall be vtterly depriued of all right thereunto, and ſhall be purſued euen vnto death by all the ſubiects if he ſhall be iudged, and publikely declared by thoſe foure and twenty men to be priuy to ſuch an Inuaſion, rebellion or hurt.*

There were alſo acts made againſt Prieſts and Ieſuits to this effect; *That they ſhould depart out of the Realme within XL. daies. That for them who from thenceforth came into the Realme and ſtaied, it ſhould be treaſon.*

That

That they who knowing them to be ſuch, doe releeue, receiue or helpe them, ſhould be fellons (ſo they call all capitall offences vnder treaſon.)

That they who are brought vp in the Seminaries, if within ſix moneths after proclamation made they doe not returne, and doe not make ſubmiſſion vnto the Queene, before the Biſhop, or two Iuſtices of peace, ſhall be guilty of treaſon.

But they who ſhall ſubmit themſelues, if within ten yeeres they come vnto the Court, or neerer it than ten miles, their ſubmiſſion ſhall be void.

They, whoſoeuer ſhall ſend any money by any manner of meanes, vnto the Students in the Seminaries, ſhall incurre a Præmunire (that is, perpetuall impriſonment and loſſe of all their goods.)

If any of the Peeres of the land, that is to ſay, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earles, Barons, Lords of the Parliament, ſhall offend againſt theſe lawes, he ſhall be tried by his Peeres.

They who ſhall know any ſuch Ieſuits and others, to lie hid in the Realme, and ſhall not diſcouer them within twelue daies, ſhall be fined at the Queenes pleaſure, and put into priſon.

If any man be ſuſpected to be a Ieſuite or Prieſt, and doe not ſubmit himſelfe vnto examination for his contempt, he ſhall be impriſoned vntill he doe ſubmit himſelfe.

He that ſhall ſend his children or any others vnto the Seminaries and Colleges of the Roman profeſſion, ſhall loſe and forfeit a hundred pounds of Engliſh *money.*

And they who are ſent, ſhall not ſucceed in their heritages, nor enioy the goods that may fall vnto them by any manner of meanes.

And ſo ſhall they alſo who within a yeare after they returne home from the Seminaries, except they doe conforme themſelues vnto the Church of England.

If the keepers of hauens permit others, beſide Sailers,

Mariners, and Merchants, to paſſe ouer the ſea, without the Queenes licence, or ſix of her Counſellors, ſhall loſe their places, and the Maſters of the ſhip who ſhall carry them out ſhall loſe and forfeit their ſhips and goods, and be impriſoned a whole yeere.

With the ſeuerity of theſe lawes the Roman Catholikes in *England* were very much terrified, and amongſt them *Philip Howard* Earle of *Arundell*, eldeſt ſonne vnto the Duke of *Norfolke*, inſomuch that he determined to depart out of the Land, leſt he ſhould offend againſt them. This man by the benignitie of the Queene was reſtored in bloud three yeeres before this time, & a little after he fell out of the Queenes fauor & grace by the ſecret inſimulation of ſome great Courtiers, had ſecretly reconciled himſelfe vnto the Romane religion, and vſed a very auſtere life. Hereupon he was once or twice called before the Counſell, and cleared himſelfe of the obiections laid to his charge, but yet he was commanded to keepe his houſe. After ſix moneths more or leſſe he was diſcharged, and came to the Parlament; yet the firſt day when the Sermon was preached, he ſtole couertly out of the company. The Parlament being ended, as being reſolued to depart away out of the Land, in his letters written vnto the Queene, which yet he commanded to be deliuered after he was gone ouer, he made a long and lamentable complaint *of the enuie of his mighty aduerſaries, vnto which he was forced to yeeld, foraſmuch as they triumphed ouer his innocencie, he repeateth the vnfortunate deaths of his Anceſtors, that is to ſay, of his great grandfather, who was condemned and neuer called to triall, of his grandfather, who was beheaded for trifling matters, and of his Father, who, as he affirmed, was circumuented by his enemies, and who neuer carried any euill minde toward his Prince or Countrey. But that he, leſt he ſhould runne into the ſame*

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hard fortune his father had, forsooke his country (that he might spend his time in the seruice of God, and in the works tending to the saluation of his soule) but not his loyalty and fidelity toward his Prince. Before these letters were deliuered, he went into Sussex, and being ready to take ship in an obscure creeke, was taken and apprehended by the treachery of his seruants, and discouery of the master of the ship, and committed vnto the Tower of London.

At that time there was prisoner in the same place *Henry Percy* Earle of *Northumberland*, a man of a liuely spirit and courage (brother of *Thomas* beheaded at Yorke) suspected to be priuy vnto the plot of *Throgmorton*, the Lord *Paget* and the *Guises*, for the inuading of *England*, and deliuering of the Queene of *Scotland*, vnto whom alwaies he had borne a great loue and affection. In the moneth of Iune he was found dead in his bed, shot thorow with three bullets about the left pappe, the doores being bolted on the inside. The Crowners quests according to the custome, taken out of the next neighbours, and sworne by the Crowner, viewing the body, considering the place, hauing found the pistoll, with the gunpowder in the chamber, his man who bought the Pistall, and the seller thereof, being examined, gaue their verdict, that the Earle did murther himselfe. The third day after, the Noblemen of the Realme came in great number, and met in the Starre chamber, where *Thomas Bromly* Lord Chauncellor of *England* succinctly declared, that the Earle had plotted and deuised treason against his Queene and Countrey, which being now to come vnto light, and to be discouered, vpon the guiltinesse of his conscience had murdered himselfe. But that the multitude and common people, who alwaies conster things to the worst, might be satisfied, he commanded the Kings

Atturney, and the Kings Counsell at law, to deliuer and explaine at large the causes why the Earle was kept and detained in prison, and the manner of his death. Hereupon *Popham* the Queenes Atturney Generall, beginning at the rebellion in the North, sheweth out of the Records; *That he was arraigned for this Rebellion, and for purposing to deliuer the Queene of* Scotland, *did then acknowledge his fault, and submitted himselfe vnto the mercy of the Queene, and that he was fined at fiue thousand marks (as I haue said before) and that the Queene, such was her clemency, tooke not a penny, but remitted the same, and that after the execution of his brother for the same fault, she confirmed him in the honour of Earle of Northumberland. That he neuertheless entred into new practises to deliuer the Queene of* Scotland, *to conquer* England, *and to kill the Queene, and to destroy Religion: That* Mendoza *the Spanish Embassador had signified vnto* Throgmorton, *that* Charles Paget, *vnder the name of* Mope *had talked with him of these things secretly in Sussex: That the Lord* Paget *had insinuated the same things almost vnto* Throgmorton, *and that the same things were euident and apparant by the papers of* Chreycton *the Scottish Iesuite, and that* Charles Paget *had told these things vnto* William Shelley *when he returned out of* France.

Then *Egerton* the Queenes Solliciter, argued wittily out of the circumstances and the great care taken of concealing it, that the Earle was guilty of, and priuy to these things, that is to say, *For that the Earle since that none in* England *could charge him with these things, but the Lord* Paget, *who was very familiar with* Throgmorton, *a few daies after the taking and apprehension of* Throgmorton, *made a ship ready for* Paget *by* Shelley, *in which he passed ouer into* France. *When* Throgmorton *began to confesse some things, hee departed from London and went out of the way vnto Petworth, and signi-*

fied

fied vnto Shelley *whom he had ſent for vnto him, that he was fallen into great danger of his life, and of his eſtate, and requeſted him to conceale the buſineſſe, and to ſend away them who were acquainted with the departure of the Lord* Paget, *and with the comming of* Charles Paget, *which was done forthwith. And he himſelfe ſent a good way off, the man whom hee had vſed about* Charles Paget. *Moreouer the Sollicitor ſaid, that he being now in priſon, dealt oftentimes with* Shelley *(by the Keepers whom he corrupted) to know what things, and of what nature hee had confeſſed. After that* Shelley *by a poore woman a ſecret meſſenger betweene them, had certified him that he could not conceale matters any longer, that their condition and eſtate were not like, that he ſhould be put on the racke, but that the Earle could not, in reſpect of his place and degree, and had written thoſe things which he had confeſſed, the Earle ſighed grieuouſly, and ſometimes ſaid, as* Panton *who waited on him in his chamber confeſſed, that by the confeſſion of* Shelley *he was vtterly vndone.*

Then the manner and reaſon of his death is declared, out of the teſtimony of the Enqueſt, of the Lieutenant of the Tower, of ſome of the Warders, and of *Panton*, and thereupon it was gathered, that he, for feare leſt his houſe and family ſhould be vtterly deſtroied, and a blemiſh and blot impoſed thereon, had laid his owne violent hands vpon himſelfe. Truly many honeſt men, as well for that they fauour Nobility, as alſo for that he was holden and reputed a man of very great valour, were heartily ſorry that ſuch a man came to ſuch a lamentable and wretched death. What things the ſuſpecting fugitiues talked in corners of one *Balliue*, one of *Hattons* men, who a little before was made Keeper vnto the Earle, I omit as a thing of ſmall credit, neither meane I to ſet downe any thing out of idle reports.

Anno

Anno 1586.

IN this yeare *Philip* Earle of *Arundell*, who had laine now a whole yeare in prison, was accused in the Starre Chamber, *That he had releeued Priests against the lawes, that he had had commerce of letters with* Allan, *and* Persons *the Iesuite, enemies of the Queene, and, that he had derogated in writing from the Iustice of the Land, and imagined to depart out of the land without licence.* Hee professing his dutie and seruice vnto the Queene, and his loue and good will vnto his countrey, excused himselfe with great modesty, by the loue he had to the Catholike Religion, and by his ignorance of the lawes, and submitted himselfe vnto the censure and iudgement of the Lords, who fined him at tenne thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned during the Queenes pleasure.

In the moneth of Iuly a most pernicious Conspiracie against Queene ELIZABETH was found out and came to light, which I will briefly describe.

At Easter, this yeere, *Iohn Ballard* a Priest of the Seminarie of *Rhemes*, who had visited many Roman Catholikes in *England* and *Scotland*, returned into *France*, accompanied with *Mawd* one of *Walsinghams* spies, a most craftie dissembler, who had bleared his eyes; and talked with *Bernardino Mendoza*, at that time ordinary Embassadour of the King of *Spaine* in *France*, and with *Charles Paget* a man exceedingly addicted to the Queene of *Scotland*, about the inuading of *England*, saying that now was a most fit time, all the militarie men

men being abſent in the Low Countries: and that they could not hope for a fitter time, ſince that the Pope, the King of *Spaine*, *Guiſe* and *Parma*, were determined to ſet vpon *England*, by that way to turne the warre out of the Low Countries. And though *Paget* held it cleere, that it would be in vaine as long as the Queene liued, yet *Ballard* was ſent backe into *England*, being ſworne to procure aid and helpe vnto the Inuaders, and libertie vnto the Queene of *Scotland*, and that with all ſpeed, and as ſoone as he could.

At Whitſontide following this *Ballard* apparelled like a ſouldier, and called by a counterfet name, *Captaine Foſcu*, arriued in *England*, and talked at *London* about theſe things with *Anthony Babington* of *Dethick* in *Derbiſhire*, a young man well borne, rich, of an excellent wit, and learned aboue his yeeres, who being addicted to the Roman Religion, had a little before ſtollen ouer into *France*, without any licence, and had beene very familiar with *Thomas Morgan*, one that belonged vnto the Queene of *Scotland*, and with the Biſhop of *Glaſco* her Embaſſador, which two in extolling continually the heroicall vertues of ſuch a Queene, had ſhewed ſuch certaine hopes of great honours and preferments by her, of which the ambitious young man quickly tooke hold: they alſo commended him, thinking of no ſuch matter, in their letters to the Queene of *Scotland*. For when he was returned into *England*, ſhe curteouſly ſaluted him by her letters, and from that time *Morgan* vſed to ſend ouer, and to conuey letters vnto her by his meanes, vntill ſuch time as ſhe was put ouer to be kept by *Amyas Paulet*. For then the young man ſeeing the danger, left off: With this *Babington*, I ſay, did *Ballard* deale about this matter. He was fully perſwaded that the Inuaſion of *England* would come to nothing ſo long as Queene ELI-

ZABETH

ZABETH liued. But when *Ballard* had inſinuated that ſhe ſhould not liue long, that *Sauage* who had taken a oath to kill her was already come into *England*, *Babington* did not like that ſo great a matter ſhould be committed onely to *Sauage*, leſt hee ſhould faile in his attempt, but rather to ſix ſtout Gentlemen, whereof he would haue *Sauage* to be one, leſt he ſhould breake his oath: and *Babington* deuiſed a new way to haue the land inuaded by ſtrangers, of the hauens where they ſhould take land, of the aid that ſhould be ioyned to them, how to deliuer the Queene of *Scotland*, and to kill the Queene.

Whiles he ſtudied earneſtly about this matter, he receiued by a boy vnknowne, letters in a character or ziffre familiar betweene the Queene of *Scotland* and him, which mildly accuſed him for his long ſilence, and bade him to ſend with ſpeed a packet of letters ſent from *Morgan*, and deliuered by the Secretary of the *French* Embaſſador: which thing he did, and withall by the ſame meſſenger wrote letters vnto her, wherein *he excuſed his ſilence, for that he was depriued of meanes and opportunity to ſend, from the time that ſhe was put into the cuſtody of* Amyas Paulet *a Puritane, a meere Leyceſtrian, and a profeſſed enemie of the Catholike faith* (for ſo he called him) *He opened vnto her, what he had conferred with* Ballard, *and told her that ſix Gentlemen were ſelected to execute the tragicall murder: and that he with a hundred other, would deliuer her at the ſame time. Hee beſought her, that rewards might be propounded, and giuen vnto the heroicall actors in this buſineſſe, or to their poſterity, if they failed or died in the action.* Vnto theſe letters anſwer was made the 27. of Iuly, *the forward care of* Babington *toward the Catholike Religion, and her ſelfe, is commended, but he was aduiſed to proceed in the buſineſſe warily, and that an Aſſociation might bee made amongſt them,*

them as though they feared the Puritans, and that no ſtir ſhould be made before they were certaine and aſſured of forraine helpe and forces: that ſome tumult might be raiſed alſo in Ireland *whileſt a blow or wound might be giuen in theſe parts,* Arundell *and his brethren, and* Northumberland, *might be drawne into their ſide,* Weſtmorland, Pager, *and ſome others ſecretly called home.* And the way alſo of deliuering her is preſcribed, *either by ouerthrowing a Cart in the gate, or by burning the ſtables, or by intercepting her ſelfe when ſhe rode vp and downe in the fields for her recreation betweene* Chartley *and* Stafford. *Laſtly,* Babington *is commanded to giue his word and promiſe for the rewards vnto the ſix Gentlemen and the others.*

He had already gotten vnto himſelfe ſome Gentlemen who were earneſt Roman Catholikes, among the which the chiefeſt were *Edward Windſore*, brother to the Lord *Windſore* a milde young man, *Thomas Salisbury* of a worſhipfull family in *Denbighſhire*, *Charles Tilney* of an ancient worſhipfull houſe, the only hope of his family, and one of the Gentlemen penſioners to the Queene, whom *Ballard* had lately reconciled vnto the Roman Church, both of them very proper men, *Chidiocke Tichburne* of *Hamſhire*, *Edward Abington* whoſe father was Cofferer to the Queene, *Robert Gage* out of *Surrey*, *Iohn Trauerſe*, and *Iohn Charnock* of *Lancaſhire*, *Iohn Iones* whoſe father had beene Taylor vnto Queene *Mary*: the aforenamed *Sauage*, *Barnwell*, of a worſhipfull family in *Ireland*, and *Henry Dun*, a Clarke in the office of the firſt fruits and tenths, into this ſociety. *Pooly* alſo inſinuated himſelfe, a man perfectly inſtructed in the affaires of the Queene of *Scotland*, a notable and cunning diſſembler, who is thought to haue diſcouered all their purpoſes and counſells vnto *Walſingham* day by day, and to haue vrged theſe young

men, ready enough to doe euill headlong, by ſuggeſting and putting worſe things into their heads; though *Nauus*, Secretary to the Queene of *Scotland*, had ſecretly aduiſed them to take heed of him.

Vnto theſe men *Babington* communicated the matter, but not all things vnto euery one: hee ſheweth his letters and thoſe of the Queene of *Scotland* vnto *Ballard*, *Tichburne*, and *Dun*; he moueth *Tilney* and *Tichburne*, to diſpatch the Queene. At the firſt they deny to contaminate and embrue their hands in their Princes bloud, *Ballard* and *Babington* tels them that it is lawfull to kill Princes who be excommunicated, and if one offend, it is to be done for the good of the Catholike Religion. Herewith they with much adoe perſwaded, doe conſent, *Abington*, *Barnwell*, *Charnock* and *Sauage*, readily and voluntarily ſweare to doe it. *Salisburie* could not be perſwaded by any meanes to kill her, but for the deliuery of the Queene of *Scotland*, he offered himſelfe voluntarily vnto *Sauage* and the others; *Babington* deſigned *Tichenor*, of whoſe fidelity and valour he had a great opinion, but he was gone to trauell. *Babington* charged them not to impart the matter vnto any, before they had ſworne them to bee ſecret. The Conſpirators confer ſometimes of this matter in *Pauls* Church, in Saint *Giles* fields, and in the Tauernes, in the which they kept many feaſts: puffed vp with the hope of great honours, now and then extolling the valour of the Nobility of *Scotland*, who had lately intercepted the King of *Scotland* at *Sterling*, and *Gerard* the *Burgonian* who had killed the Prince of *Orange*. And they proceeded to that fooliſh vanity, that they cauſed them who were deſigned and appointed to kill the Queene, to be painted in tables to the life, and *Babington* in the midſt of them with this verſe:

Hi mihi ſunt Comites quos ipſa pericula ducunt.

But

But for that this verſe (as too plaine) did not ſo well like them, they tooke it away and in the ſtead thereof they put this:

Quorſum hæc, allò properantibus?

It is reported that theſe tables were intercepted and ſecretly ſhewne vnto the Queene, who knew none of them by the countenance but *Barnwell*, who had oftentimes come vnto her about the cauſes of the Earle of *Kildare*, vnto whom hee belonged; but by other tokens which ſhe was told ſhe knew the man. Truly one time walking forth for her recreation, ſhe eſpied *Barnwell*, and looked earneſtly on him without feare, and turning vnto *Hatton* Captaine of her Guard, and others, ſaid, Am not I well attended and guarded, that haue not in my company ſo much as one man that weareth a ſword? Theſe words *Barnwell* himſelfe told after to the conſpirators, and ſhewed them how eaſily ſhe might then haue beene diſpatched if the conſpirators had beene there; and *Sauage* affirmed the ſame.

Now nothing troubled the minde of *Babington* more, than leſt he ſhould be deceiued of the forraine forces: Therefore to make that ſure and certaine, hee determined to goe ouer himſelfe into *France*, and to ſend before *Ballard* ouer ſecretly for that purpoſe: for whom he had got a licenſe vnder a counterfeit name by a bribe he had giuen, and that he might cleere himſelfe from all ſuſpicion, by the before named *Pooly*, he inſinuated himſelfe vnto *Walſingham*, and with great earneſtneſſe ſued vnto him to obtaine of the Queene for him a licenſe to goe into *France*, promiſing to doe good ſeruice in ſearching and diſcouering the moſt ſecret plots of the fugitiues, for the Queene of *Scotland*. He commended the purpoſe of the young man, & promiſed him not only a licenſe, but many and great matters if he performed it: Yet he delaied from time to

time the matter (which they thought that not ſo much as the Sunne had knowne) hauing gotten it out by the cunning wit of his owne, and of others, but eſpecially by the intelligence of *Gilbert Giffard* a Prieſt.

This man borne at *Chellington* in *Staffordſhire*, not far from *Chartley*, where the Queene of *Scotland* was kept, and ſent about this time by the fugitiues into *England*, vnder the counterfeit name of *Luſon*, to remember *Sauage* of his oath he had taken, and to lie hid to ſend the letters to and fro betweene them and the Queene of *Scotland*: when they could draw neither the Counteſſe of *Arundell*, nor the Lord *Lumley*, nor *Henry Howard*, nor *George Sherley*, into ſo dangerous a buſineſſe.

The fugitiues, to trie whether the conueying of letters by *Giffard* was ſafe, firſt ſent Blankes made vp like packets, which when they vnderſtood by anſwers to be deliuered, they being more confident, ſent alſo others in ziffres of their affaires, now and then. But *Giffard*, whether tormented in conſcience, or corrupted by bribes, or terrified with feare, came ſecretly vnto *Walſingham*, and told him who he was, and for what purpoſe he was ſent into *England*, and offered all his ſeruice out of his loue towards his Countrey and Prince, and promiſed to communicate vnto him all the letters he receiued, either from the fugitiues or from the Queene of *Scotland*. *Walſingham* embracing the occaſion offered, vſed the man courteouſly, ſent him into *Staffordſhire*, and wrote vnto *Powlet* that he ſhould ſuffer ſome of his ſeruants to be corrupted by *Giffard* and to wincke thereat. He as vnwilling (as he ſaid) that any of his ſeruants ſhould be made a Traitor in a diſſembling manner, yet as loth, he ſuffered him to corrupt the Brewer, or the man that kept the prouender, who dwelt hard by : *Giffard* quickly corrupted the

Brewer

Brewer for a few Angells of gold, who by a hole in the wall, into the which a ſtone was put ſo that it might be taken out, ſecretly ſent in and receiued backe letters, which by poſts appointed came to the hands of *Walſingham*, who vnſealed and wrote them out: and by the rare skill of *Thomas Philips* he found out the ziffres, and ſo ſealed them againe by the skill of *Arthur Gregory*, that none could iudge them to haue beene vnſealed, and ſo ſent them vnto thoſe men vnto whom they were directed. So were thoſe former of the Queene of *Scotland* vnto *Babington*, and the anſwers of him vnto her, and others vnto him (in the which was craftily added a poſtſcript in the ſame character, bidding him to ſend the names of the ſix Gentlemen (if not the other) and alſo the letters ſent the ſame day vnto *Mendoza* the King of *Spaines* Embaſſador, vnto *Charles Paget*, the Lord *Paget*, the Arch Biſhop of *Glaſco*, and to *Fra. Inglefield*, euery one of which were copied out, and afterward conueied as they were directed.

Queene ELIZABETH, as ſoone as ſhee vnderſtood by theſe letters, that ſuch a terrible ſtorme hung ouer her head, on the one ſide from her ſubiects at home, and on the other ſide from forraine enemies, commanded *Ballard* to bee apprehended, thereby to ſuppreſſe the conſpiracie betimes. So on a ſudden hee was taken in the houſe of *Babington*, in the very inſtant when he was ready to goe vpon his iourney into *France*. Hereat *Babington* was wonderfully perplexed, and was in a thouſand mindes, and went to *Tichburne*, and asked his aduice, what was to be done: his counſell was, that the conſpirators ſhould ſcatter and fly ſundry waies, but his owne was, ſecretly to ſend *Sauage* and *Charnock*, and that ſpeedily to diſpatch the Queene, yet that they might come with more facility vnto her, to prouide ſome richer and more courtlike ſutes

ſutes for *Sauage*, and of this matter he talked with them in *Pauls* Church: but by and by changing his minde, and concealing his inward cares ſtinging his heart, he vrged *Walſingham*, being then abſent and at the Court, that his licence to trauell into *France* might be now at length granted; and withall intreated him, to let *Ballard* free, whom he ſhould haue great occaſion to vſe in that negotiation. *Walſingham* delaied and held him on with faire promiſes from day to day, and as concerning *Ballard*, and taking of him, he laieth it vpon *Young*, that cunning hunter out of Romaniſts, and as it were in friendſhip ſecretly aduiſed him to take heed of ſuch fellowes, and eaſily perſwadeth the young man to lie all night in his houſe in *London*, vntill the Queene ſigned his paſſeport and he himſelfe returned to *London*, that they might talke of ſuch important affaires with more ſecrecy, and leſt the fugitiues when he came to *France*, ſhould gather any manner of ſuſpicion, out of his often going to and fro thither.

In the meane time *Scudamore*, one of *Walſinghams* men was commanded to watch him very diligently, and to accompany him in euery place, vnder the colour that he might be the ſafer from the Purſeuants. Hitherto had *Walſingham* contriued and wrought the buſineſſe, the other Counſellors of the Queene being ignorant thereof; and would haue proceeded further and lengthened it, but the Queene would not, *leſt*, as ſhe ſaid, *in not taking heed of a danger when ſhe might, ſhe ſhould ſeeme more to tempt God than to hope in him.* Therefore out of the Court from *Walſingham* a ſcroll was ſent vnto his man, to watch *Babington* with more care: This being not ſealed, was ſo deliuered, that *Babington* ſitting next to him at the Table, read it alſo. Hereupon being guiltie in conſcience, and ſuſpecting that all things were diſcouered, the next night, when he,

he, *Scudamore*, and one or two more of *Walſinghams* men had in the Tauerne ſupped with good cheere, he (as if he would haue paid the reckoning) aroſe, leauing behinde him his ſword and cloake, and got to *Weſtminſter* by the darkneſſe of the night, where *Gage* changed clothes with him, who forthwith put on *Charnocks* clothes, and together got cloſely into *S. Iohns* wood neere vnto the Citie, vnto which place came alſo *Barnwell* and *Dun*. In the meane time they were proclaimed Traitors thorow all *England*. They lurking in woods and by-wayes, when they had in vaine requeſted money of the French Embaſſador, and horſes of *Tichburne*, they cut off *Babingtons* haire, and diſfigured his face with the greene ſhels of walnuts, but being compelled by famine, went to the *Bellamies* houſe neere to *Harrow on the Hill*, who were much addicted to the Roman religion: there they were hidden and releeued with victualls in the barnes, and apparelled in husbandmens apparell, and being found after ten daies, were brought to *London*, the citizens witneſſing their publike ioy, with ringing of bels, making of bonfires in the ſtreets, and ſinging of Pſalmes, ſo much that the citizens receiued great commendations and thankes of the Queene for the ſame.

The other conſpirators were ſoone after taken, moſt of them neere vnto the citie, *Salisbury* in *Cheſhire*, his horſe being thruſt thorow with a halbard, and *Trauerſe* with him, after they had ſwomme ouer the riuer of *Weuer*; and in *Wales* was taken *Iones*, who being acquainted with the intended inuaſion, had alſo hidden them in his houſe, after he knew they were proclaimed traitors, and had moreouer furniſhed *Salisbury* in his flight with a horſe, and his man (who was a Prieſt) with a cloke hee lent him. Onely *Windſore* was not found. Many daies were ſpent in the examination of theſe

theſe men, who in their confeſſions appeached one another, concealing nothing that was true.

All this time the Queene of *Scotland* and her ſeruants were ſo narrowly kept and watched by *Powlet*, that theſe things were kept from her knowledge, though publikely knowne in all *England*. As ſoone as theſe men were taken, *Tho. Gorge* was ſent, who in few words ſhould certifie her of theſe things, which hee purpoſely did vnto her, nothing dreaming thereof, euen as ſhe had taken horſe to goe on hunting; neither was ſhe ſuffered to returne, but vnder ſhew of honour, lead about to Gentlemens houſes that dwelt thereabouts. In the meane time *I. Maner*, *Ed. Aſton*, *Rich. Bagot*, and *William Waad*, by commiſſion from the Queene, kept *Nauus* and *Curlus* her Secretaries and other ſeruants ſeuerally, that they ſhould haue no communication with themſelues nor with the Queene. And breaking open the doores of her cloſet, ſent all her cabinets and deskes wherein her papers were laid, ſealed vp with their ſeales vnto the Court. Then *Powlet* ſo commanded, ſeazed on all the money, leſt ſhe ſhould corrupt any body with bribes, and gaue his word to reſtore it. The caſkets and deskes being ſearched before Queene ELIZABETH, there were found the letters of many ſtrangers, the copies alſo of letters vnto many, about 60. kinds of Ciphers, and alſo the letters of many noblemen of *England*, offering their loue and ſeruice, which yet Queene ELIZABETH diſſembled in ſilence: but they ſmelling it out, did afterward all they could againſt her, that ſo they might not ſeeme to haue fauoured her.

Now *Gifford* hauing ſerued their purpoſe in this manner, was ſent into *France* as a man baniſhed, leauing firſt with the *French* Embaſſador in *England* a paper indented with this charge, not to deliuer any letters

letters from the Queene of *Scotland*, or from the fugitiues, and came to his hands vnto no other man but him that brought the counterpaine thereof, which he ſecretly ſent to *Walſingham*. Being returned into *France*, after ſome moneths he was caſt into priſon for his wicked life, and ſuſpected of theſe things died wretchedly, confeſſing moſt of theſe things to bee true, which were alſo found to be true out of the papers in the deskes.

On the XIII. day of September, ſeuen of the conſpirators were brought to the barre and arraigned, and acknowledged themſelues guiltie, and had iudgement of treaſon. On the next day the other ſeuen were brought to the barre, and pleaded not guilty vnto their enditement, and put themſelues to bee tried by God and the countrey, who were proued guilty by their owne confeſſions, and were likewiſe condemned. *Pooly* only, though he was priuy to all, for that he affirmed that he had told ſome things vnto *Walſingham*, was not at all arraigned. On the XX. day of the ſame moneth, the firſt ſeuen were on a paire of gallowes ſet vpon a ſcaffold in Saint *Giles* his field, where they had vſed to meet, hanged, and cut downe, and their priuities cut off, bowelled and quartered as they were euen aliue, not without the note of cruelty, that is to ſay, *Ballard* the contriuer of the wickedneſſe, aſking pardon of God and the Queene, with this condition, if he had offended her. *Babington* (who without feare beheld the execution of *Ballard*, whiles the other turning their faces away, and on their knees were earneſt at their praiers, ingenuouſly acknowledged his fault, and being let downe from the gallowes, ſundry times plainly cried out in the Latine tongue, *Parce mihi Domine Ieſu.* *Sauage* (the rope breaking) fell from the gallowes, and was ſtrait pulled away,

and his priuy members cut off, and bowelled aliue. *Barnwell* extenuated the fault with the pretext of Religion and conſcience. *Tichburne* humbly acknowledging his wickedneſſe, moued all the multitude to compaſſion, and ſo likewiſe did *Tilney*, being a very proper man, and modeſt in behauiour. *Abington* being of a turbulent ſpirit and nature, caſting out threats and terrors, of the bloud that was ere long to bee ſhed in *England*. On the next day, the other ſeuen were drawne vnto the ſame place, but vſed with more mercy by the Queenes commandement, who hated the former cruelty; for euery one of them hung till they were quite dead, before they were cut downe and bowelled. *Salisbury* the firſt, was very penitent, and aduiſed the Catholikes not to attempt the reſtitution of Religion by force or armes, and the ſame did *Dun* who was the next. *Iones* proteſting that he had diſſwaded *Salisbury* from this enterpriſe, and that he vtterly condemned and diſliked the haughty and raſh ſpirit of *Babington* and the purpoſe of inuaſion. *Charnock* and *Trauerſe* fixed wholly to their praiers, commended themſelues to God and the Saints. *Gage* extolling the bountifull liberality of the Queene toward his father, and deteſting his owne treacherous ingratitude toward a Princeſſe ſo well deſeruing. *Hierom Bellamy*, who had hidden *Babington* after he was proclaimed traitor (whoſe brother priuy to the ſame offence had ſtrangled himſelfe in priſon) aſhamed and ſilent was the laſt of this company.

Theſe men being executed, *Nauus* the Frenchman, and *Curlus* the *Scot*, who were Secretaries to the Queene of *Scotland*, being examined about the letters, copies of letters, and little notes and Ciphers found in the Queenes cloſet, of their owne will acknowledged by their ſubſcriptions, that the handwritings were their

their owne, endited by her in *French*, taken by *Nauus*, and turned into *Engliſh* by *Curlus*: Neither did they deny that ſhe receiued letters from *Babington*, and that they wrote backe by her commandement in ſuch a ſenſe as is aforeſaid. Yet this is certaine out of letters, that when *Curlus* did at this time aske *Walſingham* for what he promiſed, that *Walſingham* did reproue him, as one forgetfull of an extraordinary grace, as that he had not confeſſed any thing but that hee could not deny, when *Nauus* charged him therewithall to his face.

The Counſellors of *England* could not agree what ſhould be done with the Queene of *Scotland*: ſome thought good that no ſeuerity was to be vſed againſt her, but to be kept very cloſe, as well for that ſhe was not the beginner of this plot, but onely made acquainted with it; and alſo for that ſhe was ſickly, and not like to liue long. Others for the ſecuritie of Religion would haue her diſpatched out of the way, and that by the courſe of Law. *Leyceſter* had rather haue it done by poyſon, and ſecretly ſent a Diuine to *Walſingham*, to ſhew him that this was lawfull: but *Walſingham* proteſted that he was ſo farre from allowing that any violence ſhould be vſed, that long agoe hee croſſed and broke the aduice of *Morton*, who had perſwaded to ſend her into *Scotland*, that ſhe might be killed in the very borders of both the kingdomes. They were moreouer of different opinions, by what law or Act they ſhould proceed againſt her, whether out of that of the XXV. yeare of *Edward* the third (in which *he is a traitor who deuiſeth to kill the King or the Queene, or moueth warre in the Kingdome, or doth adhere vnto his enemies*;) Or whether by that Law or Act of the XXVII. yeare of Queene ELIZABETH, which is ſet downe before: At length their opinion preuailed,

who would haue it by this latter law, as made for this purpoſe, and therefore to be accommodated thereunto: therefore out of that law enacted the former yeare, that enquiry might be made, and ſentence pronounced againſt them who raiſed rebellion, inuaded the kingdome, or attempted to hurt the Queene, many of the Priuie Counſell and Noblemen of *England* were choſen Commiſſioners by letters Patents, which was this after the Lawyers forme and ſtile.

ELIZABETH *by the grace of God, of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Queene: Defender of the faith, &c. To the moſt Reuerend Father in Chriſt* Iohn *Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury, *Primate and Metropolitane of all* England, *and one of our Priuy Counſell; And to our beloued and truſty* Thomas Bromley *Knight, Chauncellor of* England, *and another of our Priuie Counſell, And alſo to our welbeloued and truſty* William *Lord* Burghley, *Lord Treaſurer of* England, *another of our Priuy Counſell, And alſo to our moſt deare couſin* William *Marqueſſe of* Wincheſter, *one of the Lords of the Parlament, And to our moſt deare couſin* Edward *Earle of* Oxford, *great Chamberlaine of* England, *another of the Lords of the Parlament, And alſo to our moſt deare couſin* George *Earle of* Shrewsbury, *Earle Marſhall of* England, *another of our Priuy Counſell, and to our moſt deare couſin* Henry *Earle of* Kent, *another of the Lords of the Parlament, And alſo to our moſt deare couſin* Henry *Earle of* Darby, *another of our Priuy Counſell, And to our moſt deare couſin* William *Earle of* Worceſter, *another of the Lords of the Parlament, And to our moſt deare couſin* Edward *Earle of* Rutland, *another of the Lords of the Parlament, And to our moſt deare couſin* Ambroſe *Earle of* Warwicke, *Maſter of our Ordnance, another of our Priuy Counſell, and to our moſt deare couſin* Henry *Earle of* Pembrooke, *another*

another of the Lords of the Parlament, And alſo to our moſt deare couſin Robert *Earle of* Leiceſter *Maſter of our horſe, another of our Priuy Counſell, And to our moſt deare couſin* Henry *Earle of* Lincolne, *another of the Lords of the Parlament, And alſo to our moſt deare couſin* Antony *Vicount* Montague, *another of the Lords of the Parlament, And to our welbeloued and truſty,* Charles *Lord* Howard *our great Admirall of* England, *another of our Priuy Counſell, And to our welbeloued and faithfull* Henry *Lord* Hunſdon *our Lord Chamberlaine, another of our Priuy Counſell, And alſo to our welbeloued and truſty* Henry *Lord of* Aburgeuenny *another of the Lords of the Parlament, And to our welbeloued and truſty* Edward *Lord* Zouch, *another of the Lords of the Parlament, And alſo to our welbeloued and truſty* Edward *Lord* Morley, *another of the Lords of the Parlament, And alſo to our welbeloued and truſty* William *Lord* Cobham *Lord Warden of our fiue Ports, another of our Priuy Counſell, And alſo to our welbeloued and truſty* Edward *Lord* Stafford, *another of the Lords of the Parlament, And alſo to our welbeloued and truſty* Arthur *Lord* Grey *of* Wilton, *another of the Lords of the Parlament, And alſo to our welbeloued and truſty* Iohn *Lord* Lumley, *another of the Lords of the Parlament, And alſo to our welbeloued and truſty* Iohn *Lord* Sturton, *another of the Lords of the Parlament, And to our welbeloued and truſty* William *Lord* Sandes, *another of the Lords of the Parlament, And alſo to our welbeloued and truſty* Henry *Lord* Wentworth, *another of the Lords of the Parlament, To our welbeloued and truſty* Lewis *Lord* Mordant, *another of the Lords of the Parlament, And to our welbeloued and truſty* Iohn *Lord* S^t. Iohn *of* Bletſo, *another of the Lords of the Parlament, And alſo to our welbeloued and truſty* Thomas *Lord* Buckhurſt, *another of our Priuy Counſell, And to our welbeloued and truſty* Henry *Lord* Compton, *another*

ther of the Lords of the Parlament, And alſo to our welbeloued and truſtie Henry *Lord* Cheney, *another of the Lords of the Parlament, To our welbeloued and truſty* Francis Knolles *Knight, Treaſurer of our houſhold, another of our Priuy Counſell, And alſo to our welbeloued and truſty* Iames Crofts *Knight, Controller of our ſaid houſhold, another of our Priuy Counſell: To our beloued and truſty* Chriſtopher Hatton *Knight, our vice-Chamberlaine, another of our Priuy Counſell, And alſo to our truſty and welbeloued* Francis Walſingham *Knight, one of our chiefe Secretaries, another of our Priuy Counſell, And alſo vnto our truſty and welbeloued,* William Dauiſon *Eſquier, another of our principall Secretaries, of our Priuy Counſell, And to our truſty and welbeloued* Ralph Sadleir *Knight, Chauncellor of our Dutchy of* Lancaſter, *another of our Priuy Counſell, And alſo to our truſty and welbeloued,* Walter Mildmay *Knight, Chauncellor of our Exchequer, another of our Priuy Counſell, And to our truſty and beloued,* Amyas Powlet *Knight, Captaine of the Ile of* Ierſey, *another of our Priuy Counſell, And to our truſty and welbeloued* Iohn Wolley *Eſquire, our Secretary for the Latine tongue, another of our Priuy Counſell, And alſo to our truſty and welbeloued* Chriſtopher Wray *Knight, chiefe Iuſtice of the Kings Bench, And to our truſty and welbeloued* Edmund Anderſon *Knight, Chiefe Iuſtice of the Common Bench,* Roger Manwood *Knight, Chiefe Baron of our Exchequer,* Thomas Gawdy *Knight, one of our Iuſtices of the Kings Bench, And* William Peryam *one of the Iuſtices of our Bench, Greeting, &c.* And not to ſet it downe verbatim: After the recapitulation of the Act made the laſt yeere, theſe words follow: *When after the end of the Seſſion of Parlament,* viz. *after the firſt day of Iune, in the* XXVII. *yeare of our reigne, diuers things haue beene compaſſed and deuiſed tending to the hurt of our Royall Perſon, as well by* Mary

daughter

daughter and heire of Iames *the fift, lately King of* Scotland, *and commonly called Queene of* Scotland *and Dowager of* France, *pretending title vnto the Crowne of this Realme of* England, *as by diuers other persons, with the priuity of the same* Mary, *as it is giuen vs to vnderstand: and for that we intend and determine, that the said Act should be executed rightly and effectually in all things, and by all things, according to the tenour of the said Act; and that all the offences aforesaid, in the aforesaid Act, as it is said, mentioned, and the circumstances of the same should be examined, and sentence and iudgement thereupon giuen, according to the tenor and effect of the said Act:* We giue *vnto you and to the greater part of you, full and ample power, faculty, and authority, according to the tenour of the said Act, to examine all and singular things compassed and deuised, tending to the hurt of our Royall Person, with the priuity of the said* Mary, *and all the circumstances of the same, and all the aforesaid offences whatsoeuer mentioned in the said Act, as it is said, and all circumstances of the same offences, and of euery one of them: And moreouer according to the tenour of the said Act to giue sentence and iudgement, euen as the matter shall appeare vnto you vpon good proofe; And therefore we command you to proceed diligently vpon the aforesaid things in the forme aforesaid, at certaine daies and places, which you or the greater part of you shall appoint, and prouide for this purpose, &c.*

The most of these came to *Fodringhay* Castle in *Northamptonshire*, on the xj. day of October, where the Queene of *Scotland* was then kept. On the next day the Commissioners sent vnto her, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Sir *Amyas Powlet*, and *Edward Barker*, a publike Notary, who deliuered into her hands the letters of Queene ELIZABETH, which when she had read ouer, she with a Princely countenance and quiet minde said,

ſaid: *I am much aggrieued that the Queene my moſt deare ſiſter is wrong informed of me, and that I, who haue ſo ſtraitly beene kept ſo many yeeres, and being now lame, after I haue offered ſo many equall and faire conditions for my liberty, haue laine ſo long time neglected: Although I haue fully forewarned her of many dangers, yet I was not beleeued, but was alwaies deſpiſed, although I am moſt neere to her in bloud. When the Aſſociation was made, and when it was confirmed in the Parlament, I foreſaw that whatſoeuer danger befell, either by forraine Princes abroad, or any harebraine fellowes at home, or for the cauſe of Religion, I ſhould pay deare for the ſame, I hauing ſo many deadly enemies at the Court. I may take it in euill part, and I haue cauſe for it, that a league was made with my ſonne, without my priuity or knowledge, but ſuch like things I pretermit. But to come vnto theſe letters; It ſeemeth ſtrange vnto me that the Queene commandeth me, as if I were her ſubiect, to come vnto a triall: I am an abſolute Queene, neither will I doe or commit any thing, which may empaire or wrong the Royall Maieſtie of Kings and Princes, of my place and ranke, or my ſonne; My minde is not ſo deiected, neither will I yeeld and ſinke downe vnder calamity, I referre my ſelfe vnto thoſe things which I proteſted before* Bromly *and the Lord* De la Ware. *The lawes and ſtatutes of* England *are to me vtterly vnknowne, I am deſtitute of counſellours, I tell you plaine I know not who may be my Peeres: my papers and notes of remembrances are taken from me, there is none that dare pleade or ſpeake in my cauſe. I am free from all offence againſt the Queene, neither am I to be called in queſtion, but vpon mine owne word or writing, which can neuer be brought againſt me; But yet I cannot deny but that I haue commended my ſelfe and my cauſe to forraine Princes.*

On the next day returned vnto her in the name of the Commiſſioners, *Powlet* and *Barker*, who ſhewed this

this answer put into writing, and they asked her if she persisted in the same; After she had heard it distinctly read, she commended it as truly and rightly conceiued, and said she would persist in the same: *But*, said she, *I did not remember one thing which I wish may be put in: Whereas the Queene hath written I am subiect and liable vnto the lawes of* England, *and am to be iudged by them, because I liued vnder the protection of them*: I answer, *That I came into* England *to aske and craue aid and helpe, from which time I haue beene kept and deteined in prison, and could not enioy the protection and benefit of the lawes of* England, *and hitherto I could not vnderstand by any body, what the lawes of* England *were.*

In the afternoone many chosen out of the Commissioners, with men skilfull in the Canon and Ciuill lawes, came vnto her: but the Chancellor and the Treasurer declared their authority out of the letters patents, and shewed her that neither captiuity, nor the prerogatiue of Royall Maiesty could exempt her from answering in this kingdome; and mildly he admonished her to heare the obiections made against her if not, they threatned they both might and would proceed against her by the authority of the law. She answered, *That she was not a subiect, and had rather die a thousand times, than acknowledge her selfe a subiect: since that by acknowledging it, she should doe preiudice and wrong vnto the highnesse of the Maiestie of Kings, and withall should confesse her selfe to be bound vnto all the lawes of* England, *euen in matters of Religion. Neuertheless she was ready to answer vnto all things, in a full and free Parlament, since that she is ignorant if onely for a fashion and a shew, this assembly was appointed against her already condemned with their fore-iudgements; therefore she closely admonisheth them to looke vnto their consciences, and to remember that the Theater of the whole*

world was farre more ſpacious than the kingdome of England. Laſtly, ſhe began to complaine of the iniuries done vnto her, and the Treaſurer to rehearſe the benefits of Queene ELIZABETH beſtowed vpon her, *viz.* that ſhee had puniſhed many who did impugne the right ſhe challenged vnto *England*, and had hindered that ſhe was not condemned by the Eſtates of the Realme, for the purſuing the mariage with the Duke of *Norfolke*, the rebellion in the North, and other things: which things when ſhe ſeemed to make ſlight of, they went away.

After a few houres, by *Powlet* and the Solicitor they ſhewed the heads of the letters Patents, and the names of the Commiſſioners, that ſhee might ſee that they were to deale formally and in good faſhion, vprightly, and not according to the quirkes of law, and extraordinarily. She made no exception againſt the Commiſſioners, but a bitter one againſt the new or late Act vpon which al the authority of the Commiſſioners depended; that is, to wit, that it was vniuſtly deuiſed purpoſely againſt her, & that there was no example of the like proceeding, and that ſhee would neuer ſubmit her ſelfe to triall vpon that Act. She asked by what law they would proceed againſt her: If by the Ciuill or Canon lawes, ſhe ſaid the expounders were to be ſent for to *Pauy* or *Poytiers*, and other outlandiſh Vniuerſities, ſince that fit men were not to be found in *England*. Moreouer ſhe added that it was euident by plaine words in the letters, that ſhe was accounted guiltie of the fault, although ſhe was not heard, and therefore ſhee had no reaſon to appeare before them, and ſhe required to be ſatisfied of many ſcruples in theſe letters, which ſhe had noted, confuſedly and in haſte by her ſelfe alone, but ſhee would not deliuer them in writing, for that it did not beſeeme a King or Prince to play the ſcribe.

About

About this matter thoſe Commiſſioners ſelected came to her againe, vnto whom ſhe ſignified that ſhee did not vnderſtand the meaning of theſe words, *Since ſhe is in the protection of the Queene.* The Chancellor anſwered, *This to be apparant enough to any one of vnderſtanding, but yet it is not the duty of Subiects to expound what the Queene meant, neither were they made Commiſſioners for that cauſe.* Then ſhe requeſted that the proteſtation which ſhe had made in former times, to bee ſhewed and to be allowed. It was anſwered, that it was neuer allowed, neither that it was to be allowed now, for that it was a wrong to the Crowne of *England.* Shee asked by what authoritie they would proceed. It was anſwered, by the authority of the letters Patents, and the law of *England. But you,* ſaid ſhee, *make lawes as you liſt, vnto which, it is no reaſon why I ſhould ſubmit my ſelfe, ſince that the* Engliſhmen *in former times refuſed to ſubmit themſelues vnto the* Salicke law of the Frenchmen. *But if they proceeded by the law of* England, *they ſhould bring a preſident for their doings, ſince that, that law for the moſt part conſiſted vpon examples, and cuſtomes. But if by the Canon Law, then no other men ought to expound the ſame, but the makers of them.* It was anſwered, that they would proceed neither by the Ciuill nor Canon lawes, but by the lawes of *England:* But yet that by the Ciuill and Canon lawes it might be ſhewed that ſhee ought to appeare before them, if ſhe did not refuſe to heare this; neither did ſhe refuſe to heare, but as in way of communication, but not by way of Iuſtice or triall.

Hereupon ſhe fell into other ſpeeches, *viz.* that ſhe neuer compaſſed or deuiſed any thing to hurt or kill the Queene, that ſhe had beene offended at the wrongs and indignities done to her, that ſhe ſhould bee a ſtumbling blocke, if ſhe were diſcourteouſly vſed; That ſhe

did by *Nauus* offer her labour and beſt meanes for the reuocation of the *Popes Bull*; That ſhe would haue defended her innocency by letters, neither was this permitted: And to conclude, that all her offices of good will for this twenty yeeres haue beene reiected; with ſuch like ſmall digreſſions, her going on further they called backe, and bade her to ſay in plaine termes, whether ſhee would anſwer before the Commiſſioners; Shee replied, *That this their authority was giuen to them by the new act made to enſnare her: That ſhe could not endure the Lawes of the Queene, which ſhe vpon good reaſon ſuſpected: That ſhee hauing beene hitherto of good courage, would not now wrong her anceſtors the Kings of* Scotland, *by acknowledging that ſhee is a ſubiect of the Crowne of* England; *for this is no other thing than openly to confeſſe them thereby to haue beene rebels and traitors. Yet that ſhe refuſed not to anſwer, ſo ſhe be not reduced vnto the ranke of a ſubiect: and that ſhe had rather die a thouſand times, than to anſwer as a Criminall offender.*

Vnto theſe ſpeeches *Hatton* the Vice-Chamberlaine of the Queene ſaid; *You are accuſed (but not condemned) to haue conſpired to kill our Lady and anointed Queene. You ſay you are a Queene. Be it ſo. But the Royall eſtate of a Queene doth not exempt you from anſwering vnto ſuch a crime as this is, neither by the Ciuill nor Canon law, nor by the law of Nations, nor by the law of Nature. For all Iuſtice would be of no force, yea be vtterly ouerthrowne, if faults of ſuch nature ſhould be committed without puniſhment. If you bee innocent, you doe wrong to your credit by flying from triall. You proteſt your ſelfe to be innocent, but Queene* ELIZABETH *is of another minde, and not without cauſe, but truly to her great griefe: Therefore to examine your innocency, ſhee hath ſent with authoritie moſt honourable, moſt wiſe, and moſt vpright men, who with equity and with fauour, are to heare*

heare you, and they will reioyce from their heart, if you cleare your ſelfe of this crime. Beleeue me, the Queene her ſelfe will be very glad, who ſaid to mee at my departure, that there could not a thing haue happened more grieuous vnto her, than that you are charged with this fault. Wherefore laying by the ſuperfluous priuilege of a Royall Eſtate, which can be now of no vſe, make your appearance for a triall, ſhew your innocency, leſt by ſearching of euaſions you draw vpon your ſelfe ſuſpicion, and purchaſe a perpetuall blemiſh of your reputation. I doe not refuſe, ſaid ſhe, to anſwer in a full Parlament, before the Eſtates of the kingdome lawfully called, ſo that I may be declared next in ſucceſſion: Yea and before the Queene and her Counſellors, ſo that my proteſtation may be admitted, and I may bee acknowledged the next kinſwoman of the Queene. In plaine termes I will not ſubmit my ſelfe vnto the iudgement of mine aduerſaries, by whom I know all the defence I can make of mine innocency, will not be allowed and receiued. The Chancellor asked her if ſhe would anſwer, if her proteſtation were admitted: She anſwered, *I will neuer ſubmit me to the new law mentioned in the letters Patents.* Hereupon the Treaſurer replied, Yet we will proceed to morrow though you be abſent, and continue obſtinate in the cauſe. She ſaid, *Search and examine your conſciences, haue regard to your honour, God will requite you and your heires for your iudgement vpon me.*

On the next day being the fourteenth day of October, ſhe ſent for ſome of the Commiſſioners, and requeſted, that the proteſtation might bee admitted and allowed. The Treaſurer asked her whether ſhee would come to triall, if the proteſtation were onely receiued and put into writing without allowance. At length ſhe condeſcended, yet with an euill will, leſt ſhee (as ſhe ſaid) might ſeeme to derogate from her predeceſ-

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ſors or ſucceſſors, but that ſhee was much deſirous to cleare the crime obiected, being perſwaded by the reaſons of *Hatton*, which ſhe had better thought on.

Forthwith met and aſſembled in the Chamber of preſence, the Commiſſioners that were preſent. There was a chaire of Eſtate ſet vnder a Canopy in the vpper part of the Chamber, for the Queene of *England*: Againſt it lower and further off, neere vnto the raile a Chaire for the Queene of *Scotland*, hard to the walls on both ſides benches or formes, on the which on the one ſide ſate the Chancellor of *England*, the Treaſurer of *England*, the Earles of *Oxford*, *Kent*, *Darby*, *Worceſter*, *Rutland*, *Cumberland*, *Warwicke*, *Penbroke*, *Lincolne*, and Vicount *Mountacute*; On the other ſide the Lords, *Aburgeuenny*, *Zouch*, *Morley*, *Stafford*, *Grey*, *Lumley*, *Sturton*, *Sandes*, *Wentworth*, *Mordant*, Saint *Iohn* of *Bletſo*, *Compton* and *Cheiney*: Next to them ſate the Knights of the Priuy Counſell, as *Iames Croft*, *Chriſtopher Hatton*, *Francis Walſingham*, *Ralph Sadleir*, *Walter Mildmay*, and *Amias Powlet*; Forward before the Earles ſate the two chiefe Iuſtices, and the chiefe Baron of the Exchequer; on the other ſide, two Barons and other Iuſtices, *Dale* and *Ford*, Doctors of the Ciuill law; at a little table in the middle ſate *Popham* the Queenes Atturny, *Egerton* the Sollicitor, *Gaudie* the Queenes Serieant at law, the Clarke of the Crowne, and two Clarkes.

When ſhe was come and had ſet her ſelfe in her ſeat, ſilence being made, *Bromly* the Chancellor turning to her, made a ſhort ſpeech to this purpoſe: *The moſt high and mighty Queene of* England *being certified to her great griefe and anguiſh of minde, that you haue plotted both the deſtruction of her and of* England, *and alſo of Religion; according to the duty due vnto God, her ſelfe, and people, in the which leſt ſhe ſhould faile, and out of*

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no malice of minde, hath appointed these Commissioners, who may heare what things are obiected against you, and how you can cleare your selfe from the crimes laid against you, and shew your innocency: She arising vp said, *that she came into* England *to seeke and request aid, which was promised her, neuertheless that shee was deteined in prison euer since that time.* Shee protested, *that she was not subiect to the Queene, but was a free and absolute Queene, neither was to be forced or compelled to be brought in or tried before the Commissioners or any other Iudge, for any cause whatsoeuer, but only God alone the Soueraigne Iudge of all, lest that she should doe wrong and iniury vnto her owne Royall Maiesty, her Sonne the King of* Scotland, *her Successors, or any other absolute Princes: But now she was there in person to refell the crimes obiected against her.* And she requested her friends or seruants to witnesse these things. The Chancellor not acknowledging that helpe was promised, answered; *That this protestation was to no purpose, for that whosoeuer, of whatsoeuer ranke or estate he were in* England, *did offend against the lawes of* England, *may be made subiect to the same, and may be examined and iudged by the late new law. And that therefore that protestation made to the preiudice of the lawes, and of the Queene of* England, *was not to be admitted.* Yet the Commissioners commanded, as well her protestation, as the answer of the Chancellor to be recorded. Then the letters Patents, which, as I haue often said, were founded vpon the Act of Parlament, being read aloud, she with a great courage made a protestation against that Act, as made directly and purposely against her, and in this matter put it to their conscience: And when the Treasurer answered, that euery man in this Realme was bound to the obseruation of the lawes, though neuer so lately made, and that shee might not speake in disgrace of the lawes, and that the Commissioners would

would iudge by vertue of that law, whatſoeuer proteſtations or appellations ſhe made: At length ſhe ſaid ſhee was ready and prepared to anſwer of any act whatſoeuer, done againſt the Queene of *England.*

Then *Gawdy* expounded and made plaine the Act in euery point, and affirmed, that ſhee had offended againſt the ſame, and then he made an Hiſtoricall Narration of *Babingtons* conſpiracy, and concluded, that *ſhe knew of it, allowed it, promiſed helpe, and ſhewed the waies and the meanes.* She with an vndanted courage anſwered, *that ſhe knew not* Babington, *neuer receiued letters from him, nor neuer wrote vnto him, neuer plotted the deſtruction of the Queene: And that to proue it effectually, the ſubſcription vnder her owne hand was to be produced. She neuer heard ſo much as any man ſpeake it: that ſhe knew not* Ballard, *neuer maintained him, but that ſhee had heard that the Catholikes were much agrieued with many things; and that ſhe certified the Queene therewith in her letters, and had earneſtly deſired her to haue pitty of them: And that many, vtterly to her vnknowne, had offered their ſeruice vnto her; yet that ſhe neuer moued any, to any wickedneſſe: and that ſhe being ſhut vp in priſon, could neither know, nor hinder the things which they attempted.*

Vpon this, out of the confeſſion of *Babington*, ſhee was vrged that there paſſed an entercourſe of letters betweene her and *Babington.* She acknowledged, that ſhe had ſpeech with many by letters, neuertheleſſe it could not be gathered thereby, that ſhee knew of all their naughty practiſes: She requeſted, that a ſubſcription with her owne hand might be produced, and ſhe asked, who could haue harme by it, if ſhe had requeſted to haue letters detained almoſt a whole yeare. Then the Copies of the letters of *Babington* vnto her were read, in the which all the plot was deſcribed. She ſaid,

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As concerning theſe letters, it may be that Babington *might write, but let it be proued that I receiued them: if* Babington *or others haue affirmed this, I ſay in plaine termes they lie. Other mens faults are not to be laid on my back. A packet of letters, which was deteined almoſt a yeer, came about that time to my hands, but truly I know not by whom it was ſent to me.*

To proue that ſhe had receiued *Babingtons* letters, there was read out of the confeſſion of *Babington* the heads of the letters which he had voluntarily confeſſed that ſhe had written backe.

In like manner things taken out of the confeſſions of *Ballard* and *Sauage* were read, who confeſſed that *Babington* had communicated vnto them letters receiued from the Queene of *Scotland*. She affirmed, that *Babington had receiued none from her, yea rather that ſhe had beene angrie with them that ſecretly ſuggeſted, and gaue counſell about the inuading of* England, *and warned them to beware and take heed.* Then were ſhowen the Letters, in the which the plot of *Babington* was commended and approued. She asked to haue the copie of them, and affirmed *that they came not from her, but perhaps out of her Alphabet of Cyphers in* France, *that ſhe hath laboured to get her libertie, which is a thing naturall to all men, and to haue treated with her friends to vſe meanes to deliuer her: Neuertheleſſe vnto many whom ſhe was not diſpoſed to name, who offered their ſeruice, ſhee had not anſwered a word, but that ſhe much deſired to turne away the ſtorme of perſecution from the Catholikes, and that ſhe intreated the Queen thereunto, that ſhee would not get a kingdome with the bloud of the meaneſt of all the Commons. That there are many who attempt things pernicious without her knowledge, and in ſome letters which ſhe hath receiued very lately, ſome had begged pardon of her, if they attempted any thing without her priuitie. That it was an eaſie matter to counterfeit the Characters and Cyphers, as a young man, who had boaſted*

himſelfe to be the baſtard brother to her ſonne, did very lately in France. *That ſhee alſo feared leſt this was contriued by* Walſingham, *who (as ſhee had heard it muttered) had plotted againſt the life of her and her Sonne. She proteſteth that ſhe neuer thought to hurt or kill the Queene, but that ſhe had rather more willingly beſtow her life, than that the Catholikes ſhould be afflicted ſo often, and loſe their liues with ſuch grieuous torments for her ſake, and in hatred of her.*

But, ſaid the Treaſurer, *none who was an obedient ſubiect was put to death for Religion, but many were for Treaſon, maintaining the Popes authoritie and Bull againſt the Queene. But*, ſaid ſhe, *I haue heard otherwiſe, and I haue read it alſo in printed bookes. The writers of ſuch bookes*, replied he, *wrote alſo that the Queene was depriued of her Royall dignitie.*

Walſingham, who euen now perceiued himſelfe nipped and touched, roſe vp, and proteſting that his minde was not poſſeſſed with any euill will, ſaid, *I call God to witneſſe, that I, as a priuate man, haue done nothing not beſeeming an honeſt and vpright man, neither for the publike perſon which I beare haue done any thing which doth not belong vnto my place. I confeſſe that I haue beene carefull of the ſafetie of the Queene and the Realme, and haue curiouſly ſought to finde the plots againſt her. If* Ballard *had offered me his ſeruice, I had not refuſed it, and had recompenced him for his trauell and paine taken. If I haue plotted any thing with him, why did he not tell it out, that he might haue ſaued his life?* She ſaid that ſhee remained contented with this anſwer: ſhe requeſted *him not to be angrie, for that ſhee ſo freely ſpoke what ſhee had heard, and that he would not beleeue more them that ſlandered her, than ſhe did them that defamed him: That ſpies were men not to be truſted, for they diſſemble one thing, and ſay another. That he would by no meanes beleeue that ſhee conſented to hurt or kill the Queene.* And then weeping amaine, ſaid, *I will*

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neuer caſt away my ſoule in conſpiring to kill my moſt deare ſiſter. The Lawyers made anſwer, that it would bee ſoundly proued by teſtimonies preſently. Theſe things were done before noone.

In the afternoone, for the more ſubſtantiall proofe thereof, the copie of the letters which *Charles Paget* wrote, was brought forth and ſhewed, and *Curlus* one of her Secretaries, witneſſed, that ſhee receiued, of the conference betweene *Mendoza* and *Ballard* about the counſell of inuading *England.* She anſwered, *This is nothing to the matter, neither doth it proue that I conſented to hurt or kill the Queene.* Moreouer, the Lawyers went forward, to proue that ſhe was priuie of the conſpiracie, and alſo conſpired to kill the Queene, out of the confeſſion of *Babington*, and the letters betweene her and *Babington*; in the which hee had ſaluted and ſtiled her *his high and mightie Ladie and Queene.* And by the way they rehearſed, that there was a Counſell holden of aſſigning and conferring ouer the Kingdome of *England* vnto the King of *Spaine.* She acknowledged, that a Prieſt came to her, and ſaid, if ſhee did not ſtop it, that both ſhe and her ſonne ſhould bee excluded from their inheritance: but ſhee would not tell the name of the Prieſt. And moreouer, ſhee ſaid, that the *Spaniard* challenged a right vnto the Kingdome of *England*, and would not giue place vnto any, but vnto her. Then they preſſed her with the teſtimonies of *Nauus* and *Curlus* her Secretaries, out of the confeſſion of *Babington*, and the letters that paſt betweene *Babington* and her; and all the credit of their proofes depended vpon the teſtimonie of them, and yet they were not brought forth face to face. She did acknowledge *Curlus* to bee an honeſt man, but not a ſufficient witneſſe againſt her. That *Nauus*, ſometimes Secretarie to the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, commended to her by the *French* King,

might be eaſily induced either by bribes, or hope, or feare, to beare falſe witneſſe, as one, who ſundry times had made raſh oathes, and had *Curlus* ſo tractable and at his becke, that hee would write whatſoeuer hee bade. And it may bee that they might put into the letters, ſuch things which ſhee had not endited, and alſo that ſuch letters came to their hands, which yet ſhee neuer ſaw. And broke out into ſuch or the like words: *The Maieſtie and ſafetie of Princes will bee of ſmall authoritie, and bee contemned, if they doe depend on the writings and teſtimonie of their Secretaries. I did endite vnto them nothing but that which nature hath taught mee; that I might recouer and get my libertie at laſt; neither am I to be conuinced, but out of mine owne words or writing. If they haue written any thing that may be hurt and dammage to my moſt deare ſiſter, vnwitting to mee, let them bee puniſhed for their inconſiderate boldneſſe. I certainly know if they were here preſent, they would in this cauſe acquite mee of this fault. And if I had my papers here, I could anſwer vnto theſe things in particular.*

Amongſt thoſe things, the Treaſurer obiected, that ſhe had determined to ſend her ſonne into *Spaine*, and to aſſigne ouer vnto the *Spaniard*, the right that ſhee challenged in the Kingdome of *England*. Vnto whom ſhee anſwered, *That ſhe had no Realme that ſhe could giue away, but yet it was lawfull to giue away her owne things at her will and pleaſure.* When the Alphabets of Cyphers conueyed vnto *Babington*, the Lord *Lodouick*, and to the Lord of *Fernihurſt*, were obiected vnto her out of the teſtimonie of *Curlus*, ſhee denied not, *but that ſhe had ſet downe more, and among the reſt, that for the Lord Lodouick, at ſuch time as ſhee commended him and another vnto the dignitie of a Cardinall, and as ſhee hoped without offence, foraſmuch that it was no leſſe lawfull for her to haue commerce of letters, and treat of her affaires, with men of her*

her Religion, as it was for the Queene, with the professors of the other Religion: Then they pressed her thicker, with the agreeing testimonies of *Nauus* and *Curlus*, repeated againe, and shee also repeated her former answers; or else repulsed them with precise denials, protesting againe, that shee neither knew *Babington* nor *Ballard*. Among these speeches, when the Treasurer put in his verdict, saying, that she knew well *Morgan*, who secretly sent *Parry* to kill the Queene, and had giuen him an annuall pension, she replied, *she knew that* Morgan *had lost for her cause all that he had, and therefore she was bound in honour to releeue him, and that shee was not bound to reuenge an iniurie done by a well deseruing friend vnto the Queene, but yet that shee had terrified him from making any such attempts. But yet pensions*, said shee, *were giuen out of* England *vnto* Patricke Grey, *and to the* Scots *that were mine enemies, as likewise to my sonne.* The Treasurer answered: *At such time as the reuenues of the Kingdome of* Scotland *were much diminished and impaired by the negligence of the Viceroyes, the Queene gaue some liberalitie vnto the King your sonne, her most neere allied Cousin.* Afterward was shewed the contents of the Letters vnto *Inglefield*, and to the Lord *Paget*, and vnto *Bernardino de Mendoza*, concerning forraine aid. And when to those shee had made answer: *These things touch not nor concerne the death of the Queene; & if so be that strangers desired and laboured to deliuer her, it was not to be obiected against her; and that she had sundry times signified vnto the Queene, that she would seeke for her libertie:* The matter was adiourned vnto the next day.

On the next day she repeated againe her former protestation, and requested that it might be recorded, and a copie thereof deliuered vnto her, lamenting *that the most reasonable conditions which she had propounded oftentimes vnto the Queene, were alwaies reiected, yea when she promised*

promiſed to giue her ſonne, and the ſonne of the Duke of Guiſe for hoſtages, that the Queene, or the kingdome of England ſhould take no harme by her. That ſhe ſaw long ere now, that all waies of libertie were ſtopped, but now that ſhee is moſt baſely vſed, to haue her honour and eſtimation called into queſtion, before Petifoggers and Lawyers, who draw euery circumſtance into conſequences by their quiddities and trickes, ſince that anointed and conſecrated Princes are not ſubiect, nor vnder the ſame lawes that priuate men are. Moreouer when they haue authoritie and commiſſion giuen them of examining Things tending to the hurt of the Queens Perſon; yet notwithſtanding the cauſe is ſo handled and letters wreſted, that the Religion which ſhe profeſſeth, and the immunitie and maieſtie of forraine Princes, and the priuate commerces betweene Princes, are called into queſtion, and ſhe below her Royall dignitie is brought to the barre, as it were to be arraigned, and to no other purpoſe, but that ſhe may be wholly excluded from the fauour of the Queene, and from her right in the Succeſſion, when ſhe appeared voluntarily to confute all obiections, leſt ſhee might ſeeme to haue beene ſlacke in the defence of her honour and credit. Shee alſo called to their memorie, how ELIZABETH her ſelfe had beene drawne into queſtion for the conſpiracie of Wyat, when yet ſhe was moſt innocent, Religiouſly affirming, that although ſhe wiſhed the good and welfare of Catholikes, yet ſhe would not haue it to be done by the death and bloud of any one. That ſhe had rather play the part of Heſter, than of Iudith, make interceſſion vnto God for the people, rather than to take away the life of the meaneſt of the people. And then appealing vnto the Maieſtie of God, and vnto the Princes that were allied vnto her, and repeating againe her proteſtation, ſhe requeſted that there might be another aſſembly about this matter, and that ſhee might haue a Lawyer aſſigned vnto her, and that ſince ſhe was a Prince, that they would giue credit to the

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word of a Prince; for it was extreme folly to ſtand vnto their iudgement, whom ſhe moſt plainly ſaw to be armed with fore-iudgements againſt her.

Vnto theſe ſpeeches the Treaſurer ſaid: *Since that I beare a twofold perſon, the one of a Delegate or Commiſsioner, and the other of a Counſellor; Firſt, take of me a few things, as from a Commiſsioner: Your Proteſtation is recorded, and the copie thereof ſhall be deliuered vnto you. Wee haue authoritie giuen vs vnder the Queenes owne hand, and the great Seale of* England, *from the which there is no appellation: neither come we with a fore-iudgement, but to iudge according to the rule and ſquare of Iuſtice. The Lawyers aime at no other thing, but that the truth may appeare how farre forth you haue offended againſt the Queens perſon. We haue full power giuen vs to heare and examine the matter, yea in your abſence; yet we deſire to haue you preſent, leſt we ſhould ſeeme to diminiſh your honour or credit: neither haue we thought to obiect vnto you any thing, but that you haue done or attempted againſt the Queenes perſon. The letters are read for no other purpoſe, but to lay open the practiſe againſt the Queene, and other things pertaining thereunto, and are ſo mingled with other things, that they cannot be ſeparated. And therefore the whole letters, and not parcels taken out of ſundrie places of them, are read, for as much as circumſtances doe giue credit vnto the things of which you dealt with* Babington.

Shee interrupting him, ſaid, *That the circumſtances might be proued, but not the deed, that her integritie depended not vpon the credit and memory of her Secretaries, though ſhee knew them honeſt: but yet if they haue confeſſed ſomething out of feare of the racke, hope of reward, and of impunitie, it is not to be admitted and receiued out of iuſt cauſes, which ſhee may declare in another place; that the minds of men are carried away by ſundrie kinds of affections, that they would neuer haue confeſſed ſuch things, but either*

either for gaine, or vpon ſome hope: that letters may be directed vnto others, than vnto whom they are written, and that many things which ſhe had not dictated, had many times beene inſerted: if her papers had not beene taken away, and that ſhee had a Secretarie, ſhe could with more eaſe confute their obiections.

But nothing (ſaid the Treaſurer) *ſhall be obiected, but from the nine and twentieth day of* Iune, *neither will the papers doe any good, ſince the Secretaries and* Babington *himſelfe, without torture haue affirmed you to haue ſent letters vnto* Babington; *which thing, although you deny, let the Commiſſioners iudge, whether more credit is to be giuen vnto their affirmation or your deniall. But to come to the matter. As a Counſellour I tell you this, you haue made many propoſitions about your libertie at ſundrie times: that nothing came thereof, was long of you, or of the* Scots, *and not of our Queene, for the Noble-men of* Scotland *abſolutely denied to deliuer the King for hoſtage. And when laſt of all there was a treatie for your deliuery,* Parry *was ſent ſecretly by* Morgan *to kill the Queene. Ah* (ſaid ſhee) *you are my profeſſed enemie: Yea rather* (replied he) *I am an enemie to the enemies of Queene* ELIZABETH: *but enough of theſe things; Let vs therefore proceed vnto proofes: when ſhee denied to heare, Yet we will heare* (ſaid he) *and I alſo* (ſaid ſhe) *in another place, and will defend my ſelfe.*

Now were read againe the letters vnto *Charles Paget*, in which ſhee told him, there was no other way for the *Spaniard* to bring the *Netherlands* into ſubiection, than by placing a Prince in *England* who might doe him good: the letters vnto the Lord *Paget* to haſten aid and forces to inuade *England*: the letters of Cardinall *Allan*, in which he ſaluted her as his *high and ſoueraigne Ladie*, and ſignified that the buſineſſe was commended vnto the care of the Prince of *Parma*. As theſe were in reading, ſhe interrupted them, ſaying: *That* Babington

ton *and her Secretaries accuſe her to excuſe themſelues; that ſhee neuer heard of the ſix Ruffians; that the other things were not to the matter; that ſhee eſteemed* Allan *to bee a reuerend Prelate; that ſhee did acknowledge no other head of the Church, than the Pope of* Rome; *that ſhe was not ignorant in what regard and eſtimation ſhee was with him and with forraine Princes, nor could ſhee hinder it, if they in their letters called her Queene; that her Secretaries ſince they did againſt their office, faith, and fidelitie, confirmed by oath vnto her, deſerued no credit; that there was no credit to be giuen to them that were once forſworne, though they ſwore againe by all the oathes of God; neither that they did thinke themſelues tied with any oath whatſoeuer in conſcience, ſince that they haue ſworne vnto her before that loyaltie and ſecrecie, neither for that they were not ſubiects of* England: *that* Nauus *had written oftentimes otherwiſe than ſhe had dictated, and that* Curlus *had written all whatſoeuer* Nauus *had bidden, but that ſhe would maintaine and vphold their faults in all things, but thoſe that might blemiſh her honour. Perhaps alſo theſe fellowes did confeſſe to doe themſelues a benefit, whilſt they might thinke not to hurt her, with whom, as with a Queene, they thought mildneſſe ſhould be vſed; that ſhee heard nothing of* Ballard, *but of one* Hallard, *who had offered his ſeruice, which yet ſhe had refuſed, for that ſhee had heard that the ſame man had beene belonging to* Walſingham.

Afterward, when the notes out of the letters vnto *Mendoza*, which *Curlus* had acknowledged that hee wrote out in a priuate character, were read before her, and ſhe was vrged out of them, as if ſhee had compaſſed to transfer the right in the Kingdome vnto the *Spaniard*, and that *Allan* and *Parſons* ſtaied now at *Rome* for that purpoſe and intent: Shee complaining that her ſeruants had broken their fidelitie confirmed by oath, anſwered: *When I being in priſon, and languiſhed with care,*

without hope of libertie, and there was not any more hope left of euer bringing to paſſe thoſe things, which very many expected of me in my ſickneſſe and declining age. Many thought it fit that the Succeſſion of the Realme of England *ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the* Spaniard, *or in a Catholike* Engliſh-man: *and a booke was brought to proue the right of the* Spaniard; *which being not admitted by me, I offended many. But all my hope in* England *being now deſperate, I am reſolued not to reiect forraine helpe.*

The Sollicitor admoniſhed the Commiſſioners ſecretly what might become of them, their Honours, goods, and poſteritie, if the Kingdome ſhould be ſo transferred: but the Treaſurer ſhewed them that the Kingdome of *England* could not be transferred, but to deſcend by the right of ſucceſſion according to the Lawes.

Shee requeſted that ſhee might be heard in a full and open Parlament, or that ſhee her ſelfe might ſpeake to the Queene (whom ſhe hoped would haue reſpect vnto a Queene) and the Counſellors. And then riſing from her ſeat with a cheerefull countenance, ſhe ſpoke a few words aſide with the Treaſurer, *Hatton*, *Walſingham*, and the Earle of *Warwicke*. Theſe things being done, the Aſſembly or meeting was adiourned vnto the fiue and twentieth day of *October*, in the Starre-chamber at *Weſtminſter*. Thus much of this matter out of the Commentaries of *Edward Barker, principall Regiſter to the Queenes Maieſtie, and of* Thomas Wheeler, *a Notarie publike, Regiſter of the Audience of Canterburie*, and of other credible perſons that were preſent. And in this manner the Queene thought good to haue her tried, although the Lawyers, who are ſo curious in the examining of words, and following of formes, rather than in the expounding of the Lawes themſelues, that according to their forme of law, ſhe was to be called to triall

in

in the Countie of *Stafford*, and to be brought to hold vp her hand at the barre publikely before the Bench, and to be tried by twelue men, saying this indeed was a sweet and goodly forme of iudgment against a Prince. But to auoid and put away such absurdities, shee thought it better to referre so great a cause vnto the Noblemen of the Land, and Realme, and to the Iudges; and this scarce sufficeth, when as (said shee) all mens eies are cast vpon vs Princes, as being set aloft, as on a high scaffold, so that in vs euen the least blemish or spot is seene afarre off, so that we are carefully to prouide that we doe nothing vnworthy of our selues.

But to returne where I left: At that day met all the Commissioners (but the Earles of *Shrewsbury* and *Warwicke*, who were then sicke) and after that *Nauus* and *Curlus* had affirmed and confirmed before them, that euery and singular the letters and copies of letters, which were produced before, to bee most true vpon their oathes, *viua voce*, voluntarily without hope or reward; the sentence against the Queene of *Scotland* was pronounced and confirmed with the seales and subscriptions of the Commissioners; and recorded in these words: *By their assent, consent and accord, they doe pronounce, giue, and say their Sentence and Iudgement, at the day and place last rehearsed, that after the end of the aforesaid Session of Parliament, specified in the aforesaid Commission,* viz. *after the aforesaid first day of* Iune, *in the 27. yeere aforesaid, and before the date of the said Commission, diuers things were imagined and compassed within this Realme of* England, *by* Anthony Babington *and others, with the priuitie of the said* MARIE, *pretending title vnto the Crowne of this Realme of* England, *tending to the hurt, death and destruction of the Royall person of our said Ladie, the Queene. And to wit, that after the aforesaid first day of* Iune, *in the seuen and twentieth yeere aboue-*

ſaid, and before the date of the aforeſaid Commiſsion, the ſaid MARIE *pretending title vnto the Crowne of this Realme of* England, *compaſſed and imagined within this Realme of* England *diuers things tending to the hurt, death and deſtruction of the Royall perſon of our Lady the Queen, againſt the forme of the Statute ſpecified in the aforeſaid Commiſsion.* Of this Sentence which depended wholly on the credit of the Secretaries, neither were they brought face to face, according to the firſt Statute of the 13. yeere of Queene ELIZABETH her ſelfe, was very much ſpeech and different amongſt men, ſome iudging them vnworthy of credit, and others againe thought them worthy to be beleeued. I haue ſeene the Apologie of *Nauus* written vnto King *Iames*, in the yeere 1605. in the which hee doth laboriouſly excuſe himſelfe, in protefting that hee was neither the Author, nor perſwader, nor firſt diſcouerer of that plot or deuice, neither that hee failed at all in his dutie through negligence or incircumſpection, but rather that he ſtoutly did impugne the heads of the accuſations againſt his Ladie this day. Which thing yet doth not appeare by the publike records. But the ſame day it was declared by the Commiſſioners, and by the Iudges of the Realme, *That that Sentence did derogate nothing from* IAMES *King of* Scotland *in his right or honour, but him to be in the ſame place, eſtate and right, as if that Sentence had not beene giuen at all.*

In a ſhort time after there was a Parlament holden at *Weſtminſter*, in the which the Eſtates of the Kingdome who had approued and confirmed by their voices the ſentence pronounced againſt the Queene of *Scotland*, by one conſent and accord deliuered by the Chancellor vnto the Queene a ſupplication, in which they moſt earneſtly beſought her, that for the conſeruation of the true Religion, the tranquillitie of the Realme, ſafetie of

of the Queene, the good eſtate of them and of their poſteritie, the ſentence giuen againſt MARY Queene of *Scotland* according to the Law might be publiſhed. They fetcht their reaſons from the dangers hanging ouer the heads of their Religion, her Royall Perſon, and Realme, by her who nurſed vp in the Religion of the Papiſts, and ſworne one of the Holy League to root out the Religion of the Proteſtants, had challenged long the Realme as due to her, and had thought it a moſt iuſt thing to oppugne a woman excommunicate, and meritorious to depriue her of her life. She had ſubuerted and ouerthrowne the flouriſhing families of the Realme, and laid fewell vnto all plots contriued and tumults in *England*. To ſpare her, was no other thing but to vndoe the people, who will take it in euill part if ſhe be ſuffered to eſcape without puniſhment, and will not beleeue themſelues freed from the oath of the *Aſſociation*, except ſhe were put to death. Laſtly, they called to her remembrance what fearefull examples of Gods puniſhment there were againſt King *Saul* for that he killed not *Agag*; and vpon *Achab*, for that he killed not *Benadad*. Thus ſaid the States of Parlament.

The Queene with a maieſticall countenance and voice anſwered vnto this effect: The benefits of Almightie God are ſo great and ſo many toward me, that I doe not only acknowledge them moſt humbly, but doe admire them as miracles, foraſmuch as I cannot expreſſe them in words. Although there be no mortall man more beholding to the Maieſtie of God than I my ſelfe, ſo oft times deliuered from dangers not without miracle; yet I am not indebted more than for this only thing, which I account as a miracle; that is to ſay, That as I receiued and tooke vpon me the gouernment of the Realme with the

" the full conſent and good will of all, ſo I ſee per-
" fectly the ſame, if not your greater loue and good
" will toward me, after that XXVIII. yeeres be ex-
" pired : and if I ſhould faile therein now, and that it
" did not continue ſtill, I might perchance be percei-
" ued to breathe, but ſurely not to liue. But now al-
" though attempts be made againſt my life, neuerthe-
" leſſe nothing troubleth me more, than that ſhe who
" is of the ſame ſex, of the ſame ſtocke and linage, and
" alſo of my bloud and kindred, hath beene acceſſarie
" to the ſame. And I am ſo farre off from being ma-
" licious toward her, as that when ſome plots againſt
" me came to light, I wrote vnto her, that if ſhe would
" confeſſe them in her priuate letters vnto me, they
" ſhould be wrapped vp in ſilence. Neither did I
" write thus with this minde, to enſnare her, for that
" whatſoeuer ſhe could confeſſe, was knowne to me.
" Yet neuertheleſſe though things are come to this
" paſſe that they are, if ſhe would truly repent, and
" that none would vndertake her cauſe againſt mee,
" and that hereupon my life only, and not the ſafetie
" of all the people did depend (I would not haue you
" thinke I faine) I would truly moſt willingly forgiue
" her : yea if *England* by my death might flouriſh
" more, and haue a better Prince, I would moſt rea-
" dily lay downe my life ; for I doe deſire not to liue,
" but for the good of the people, and not of my ſelfe.
" Neither is there any cauſe, hauing liued in that man-
" ner as I haue, why I ſhould deſire to liue, or feare to
" die. I am not ignorant of all kinde of lifes, for I haue
" obeyed, and I haue gouerned ; I haue had good
" neighbours, and alſo euill ; I haue found treacherie
" where I truſted : I haue euill beſtowed benefits, and
" I haue beene euill reported of when I haue done well.
" When I call theſe things paſt to minde, ſee and be-

hold

" hold the things preſent, and expect future things, I
" thinke them moſt happie who die ſoone: againſt
" ſuch euils as theſe I put on a manly minde, that what-
" ſoeuer befall vnto me, death may not take and finde
" me vnprouided.

" As concerning theſe treaſons, I will not ſo preiu-
" dicate my ſelfe, or the lawes of my Kingdome, that
" I doe not thinke but that ſhe the author and contri-
" uer of this treaſon, is a ſubiect, and liable by the an-
" cient lawes, although this new law had neuer beene
" made; the which neuertheleſſe was not enacted di-
" rectly to entrap her, as many folkes that fauour her
" doe ſuſpect and imagine. It was ſo farre off from be-
" ing made to enſnare her, that it was rather done to
" premoniſh and deterre her from attempting any
" thing againſt it. And ſince that it hath the force of a
" law, it was thought meet to proceed againſt her by
" the ſame. But you Lawyers be ſo curious and pre-
" ciſe in examining the words and letters of the law,
" and following your formalities, rather than in the
" expounding the lawes themſelues, that by your
" formes ſhe was (as is ſaid before) within the Coun-
" tie of *Stafford* in perſon to be arraigned, ſtanding at
" the barre, and holding vp her hand, and to be tried
" by the verdict of twelue men. Aſſuredly it were a
" goodly forme of iudgement vpon a Prince. To
" auoid ſuch like abſurdities, I thought it moſt fit to
" referre ſo great a cauſe to be examined by the Nobi-
" litie and Iudges; and this is ſcarce ſufficient, for that
" the eyes of all men are fixed on vs that are Princes,
" ſtanding aloft (as it were) on a Theater or Stage,
" and in vs the leaſt blemiſh is ſeene, be it neuer ſo farre
" off: ſo that we are very carefully to prouide and be-
" ware that we commit and doe nothing vnworthy
" of our ſelues. But you by this new law haue brought
mee

" me into a very great ſtrait, that I ſhould ſet downe
" the determination for the puniſhment of her, who is
" a Princeſſe moſt neere to me in bloud, and whoſe at-
" tempts and plots haue ſo grieued my heart, that not
" to increaſe it by hearing the ſame rehearſed, I wil-
" lingly abſented my ſelfe from this aſſembly of Parla-
" ment, and not for feare of ſome lying in wait to kill
" me, as ſome imagine: yet I will vtter this ſecret
" (though I be no blabbe) I ſaw with theſe eies, and
" read the oath wherein ſome haue bound themſelues
" to kill me within a moneth ſpace. From hence I fore-
" ſee your danger, and I will take a great care to refell
" the ſame.

" Your Aſſociation for my ſafetie I haue not forgot-
" ten, yet I neuer ſo much as thought of ſuch a thing
" before the ſame was ſhewed mee vnder their hands
" and ſeales. The ſame hath tied me vnto you in ſtrong
" bonds of good will for your loue vnto mee, who
" ſeeke for no other ſolace and comforts than from
" the loue of you, and of the Common-wealth. But
" for as much as the matter which is now treated of, is
" ſeldome ſeene, and for that there be few examples
" thereof, and is a matter of very great moment, I in-
" treat you not to expect that I ſhould make an anſwer
" and ſet down my certaine determination, for it is my
" vſe and cuſtome euen in ſmaller matters, to be ad-
" uiſed a good ſpace in things which are but once to be
" determined. I will deſire earneſtly Almightie God to
" powre the ſhining beams of his light into my minde,
" that I may perfectly ſee and behold what may bee
" beſt for the good and profit of the Church, the Com-
" mon-wealth, and your ſafetie. Yet leſt delay may
" bring danger, I will in conuenient time ſignifie vnto
" you what my minde is.

And ſo the twelfth day after, when ſhee had conſi-
dered

dered more aduiſedly on the matter, ſhee, as it were, in her doubtfull minde diſtracted, and not able to reſolue what to doe, requeſted them (ſending the Chancellor vnto the Nobilitie, and *Puckering* vnto them of the Lower houſe) more diligently to aduiſe and conſult of ſo weightie a matter againe, and to deuiſe ſome more wholeſome remedie, whereby the life of the Queene of *Scotland* might be ſpared, and her ſecuritie procured.

When they had deliberated and conſulted much, and a long time, and had iudged both the good and the euill of the Prince to concerne all men, they fall againe to the ſame opinion with one voice, and for theſe cauſes: *For that the Queene could not be in ſafetie, as long as the Queene of* Scotland *liued, except ſhee repented ſeriouſly, and acknowledged her crimes, or elſe was tied and kept in a ſtraiter priſon, and with deeds of writing vnder her hand, or by oath, or ſhould giue hoſtages, or depart out of the Realme. They hoped for no repentance in her, ſince that ſhe had euill requited the Queene, who had giuen her life vnto her, and had not yet acknowledged her crimes. They held and accounted ſtraiter cuſtodie, writings vnder her hand, oath and hoſtages as nothing, for as much as theſe things vaniſhed in ſmoake, preſently as ſoone as the Queene was dead or made away; but if ſhee departed out of the Realme, they feared ſhee would forthwith aduance her Standards to inuade the Kingdome.* When the Chancellor, and *Puckering*, Speaker of the Lower houſe, had declared theſe things at large, vrging to haue the ſentence put in execution, *For as much as it was iniuſtice to deny the execution of law, if it were to any one of her ſubiects that deſired it, much more to all the* Engliſhmen *efflagitating it ſo much with one voice and one heart.* Vnto whom the Queene made a Speech in this manner.

" That iourney is very grieuous by the which both
" whileſt it is going, and when it is ended, nothing is

" gotten but trouble and vexation. I am very much
" troubled and vexed this very day, as much as at any
" time, whether I ſhould ſpeake or hold my tongue: If
" I ſhall ſpeake and not complaine, ſurely I ſhall faine;
" If I hold my tongue, your labour is loſt; but if I com-
" plaine, it may ſeeme ſtrange: yet I confeſſe, I haue
" much wiſhed that for your ſecuritie, and withall for
" my ſafetie, ſome other way might haue beene deui-
" ſed, than that which is now propounded. So that I
" cannot but complaine before you, though not of
" you, ſince that I vnderſtand by your petitions,
" that my ſafetie dependeth wholly on the death of an-
" other. If any thinke that I haue prolonged the time,
" to procure vainglorioufly the commendation of cle-
" mencie, they doe me much wrong, which thing God
" who ſearcheth the ſecrets of al mens hearts, knoweth
" beſt. If there be any that thinke that the Commiſ-
" ſioners durſt not pronounce any other ſentence, leſt
" they ſhould ſeeme to diſpleaſe me, or to haue beene
" careleſſe of my ſafetie, they wrong me exceedingly;
" for either my ſeruants failed in doing their dutie, or
" elſe they ſignified on my behalfe vnto the Commiſ-
" ſioners that my wil was, and that I commanded that
" euery one ſhould doe freely according as they
" thought in their minds, and that they ſhould priuat-
" ly impart vnto mee thoſe things which they would
" not vtter publikely. It was out of my abundant
" good will toward her, to deſire to haue another
" courſe or meanes deuiſed for this miſchiefe. But now
" ſince it is moſt certaine, that I and my ſafetie are in a
" deplorable eſtate, except ſhee be rid and made away,
" I am ſorrie at my heart, that I who haue pardoned
" and giuen life to ſo many Rebels, and haue neglected
" ſo many Treaſons, by conniuing or holding my
" peace, may ſeeme now at the length to vſe crueltie

" and

" and ſeueritie toward ſo great a Prince. Since the
" time I came vnto the Crowne, I haue ſeene many Li-
" bels ſcattered abroad againſt me, as againſt a Tyrant:
" God ſend the writers of them good lucke. I beleeue
" that they would ſay ſome new things, and truly it
" ſeemeth ſtrange to mee, to be noted for a Tyrant, I
" with it were as ſtrange to heare of their impietie.

" What will not they publiſh in their writings, when
" they ſhall heare that I haue conſented, that the hang-
" man ſhall embrue his hands in the bloud of my next
" Couſin? I am ſo farre from crueltie, that to conſerue
" my life, I would not vſe any violence againſt her,
" neither haue I beene ſo carefull to lengthen out mine
" owne life, as I haue laboured to conſerue the life of
" vs both, and I am immeaſurably ſorrie that now it
" cannot be done. I am not ſo void of wit, but that I
" ſee the dangers that be neere me, nor of that peeuiſh
" folly, to whet and ſharpen the ſword wherewith to
" haue my throat cut, nor of that careleſſe ſloth, that
" I will not ſtirre to ſaue mine owne life. But I ima-
" gine this thing with my ſelfe, that there be many
" who will put their liues in danger to ſaue the life of
" their Prince, of whoſe number yet I doe not profeſſe
" my ſelfe to be. Theſe things I haue conſidered in my
" minde. But ſince that many haue written and ſpoken
" bitterly againſt mee, let it be lawfull for me to make
" an Apologie for my ſelfe, that you may ſee for the
" ſafety of what woman you haue taken ſo much pain.
" As I doe make a thankfull remembrance of your vi-
" gilancie and watchfulneſſe, ſo I cannot, nor ſhall
" not giue you equall thankes, if I had as many liues
" left as euery one of you haue.

" Aſſoone as I tooke the Crowne on me, not for-
" getting God the giuer thereof, I began my Reigne
" with his worſhip and Religion, in the which I was

" brought vp, and in which, as I hope, I ſhall die:
" though I be not ignorant what dangers enuironed
" me at home for the alteration of Religion, and what
" potent Kings of the other profeſſion abroad, ſhewed
" themſelues my enemies; yet neuertheleſſe I was not
" moued: for I knew that God, whom I chiefly reſpe-
" cted, would defend mee and my cauſe. Vpon this
" proceeded and grew ſo many plots and conſpiracies
" againſt mee, that I might haue wondered how I
" ſhould eſcape, if God had not holpen me beyond my
" hope. Then that I might make greater progreſſe in
" the art of Gouernment, I ſtudied much and long
" what things were the fit parts for a King, and I found
" out by ſearch, that it was very neceſſarie that they
" ſhould bee furniſhed with thoſe Cardinall vertues,
" *Iuſtice*, *Temperance*, *Prudence*, and *Fortitude*.
" My ſex doth not permit me to arrogate vnto my
" ſelfe theſe two latter, which belong properly vnto
" men, but of the former and the milder vertues (as I
" may call them) I dare ſay this without vanterie, I
" haue kept the higheſt and loweſt in awe alike, I haue
" raiſed no man whom I haue not thought worthy, I
" haue not beene credulous of beleefe in hearing tales.
" I haue not corrupted Iudgement with a fore-iudge-
" ment, without hearing the cauſe; yet I cannot ſay,
" but that many things may be told me as truth, vpon
" the too much partialitie of the parties, *For a good and*
" *warie Prince is often ſold*, for that he cannot heare all
" things himſelfe: But this I can auerre and auow for
" truth, According to my capacitie, I haue alwaies
" made Iudgement ſubiect vnto Truth. As there was
" one who admoniſhed his friend to make no anſwer
" vnto a queſtion, before he recited the Alphabet; ſo
" I did neuer determine any thing raſhly and in haſte.
" Therefore, as concerning your conſultations and
" aduices,

" aduices, I acknowledge them to be ſtudied, prouident
" and wholeſome for my better conſeruation, and to
" grow and proceed from your hearts, both ſincere
" and moſt deuoted vnto mee, ſo that it is my part to
" ſtriue with all my power, not to ſeeme, or to be in-
" grate vnto them that deſerue ſo well at my hands.
" And as concerning your Petition, I beſeech and re-
" queſt you that you will be content with an anſwer
" without an anſwer. I approue your iudgement, I con-
" ceiue your reaſons, yet I pray you excuſe the doubt-
" ful care of ſtudying and conſidering in this buſineſſe
" which tormenteth me. Take in good part my moſt
" thankfull minde vnto you, and alſo this anſwer, if
" you thinke it an anſwer. If I ſhall ſay that I will not
" doe that which you requeſt, perhaps I ſhall ſay that
" which I doe not think; but if I ſhall ſay I will doe it, I
" ſhall precipitate my ſelfe, whom you wiſh to be con-
" ſerued, into vtter deſtruction: which thing I aſſured-
" ly know in your wiſdome you would not, if you
" conſider thorowly the places, the times, and the
" manners of men. After theſe things done, the As-
" ſembly of the Eſtates of Parlament was prorogued.

About the ſame time the Lord *Buckhurſt* and *Beale* are ſent to the Queene of *Scotland* to ſignifie the ſentence giuen againſt her, and that the ſame as moſt iuſt was approued and confirmed by the authoritie of Parlament, and that the States did very much vrge the ſame in reaſon of *Iuſtice, Securitie, and Neceſſitie*; and therefore ſhould perſwade her that acknowledging her ſinnes againſt God and the Queene, ſhe might by this repentance before her death, purge and cleanſe her from her ſinnes; inſinuating, that as long as ſhe liued the Religion receiued in *England* could not ſtand firme. Hereupon ſhe with an vnwonted alacritie and cheerefulneſſe ſeemed to triumph, giuing thankes to God,

and

and reioycing to her ſelfe, that ſhe was accounted an inſtrument for the re-eſtabliſhment of Religion in this Iſland: And vehemently beſought them that ſhee might haue a Catholike Prieſt to direct her conſcience and adminiſter the Sacraments: and vtterly reiected the Biſhop and Deane, whom they commended as fit men for that purpoſe, and gaue the Engliſh nation a bitter taunt, in ſaying oftentimes, *that the Engliſhmen had vſed crueltie toward their Kings in killing them now and then, ſo that now it was not ſtrange if alſo they exerciſed tyrannie on me borne and come alſo of their bloud.*

L' aubeſpineus the French Embaſſador ſtopped and ſtaied a little the publication of the iudgement; but ſome Courtiers diligently labouring in it, in the moneth of December it was publikely proclaimed thorow the Citie of *London*, the Maior, the Aldermen, and principall Citizens being preſent, and afterward thorow all the Realme. In the preface the Queene did in earneſt manner proteſt that this Proclamation was wrung out and extorted from her, not without great anxietie of minde, by great neceſſitie, and the moſt vehement obteſtations of the Eſtates of the Realme, though there were ſome who thought this to be ſpoken by a womans-policie, who deſire to ſeeme alwayes to doe that which they doe by coaction, though they deſire it neuer ſo much.

The diuulging of this direfull and dolefull Proclamation being told vnto the Queene of *Scotland*, ſhee was ſo farre off from being deiected, that rather with a reſolued and ſtaied countenance ſhe gaue thankes vnto God, with lifting vp her hands vnto heauen. And although *Powlet* her Keeper depriued her of all dignitie and reſpect, and ſhe was no more accounted of but as a meane woman of the baſeſt ranke, yet ſhe endured it with a moſt quiet minde. But hauing gotten leaue of

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him with too much adoe, by letters vnto Queene ELIZABETH dated the nineteenth day of December, *she declareth her selfe free from all malice and hatefull minde against her, giueth thankes vnto God for that sentence of death, who would haue the end of her sorrowfull life to come. She intreateth her that she may be obliged and beholden vnto her only, and not vnto others, for these benefits that follow, since that she could expect and looke for no good from the hot-minded Puritans, who carried all away in* England. *First, that when her enemies were glutted and satisfied with the shedding of her innocent bloud, that her body may be carried by her seruants to be buried in some hallowed ground, especially into France, where her mother resteth in peace; since that violence hath beene offered vnto the ashes of her forefathers and ancestors in* Scotland, *and the Churches either pulled downe or prophaned; neither could she hope for a buriall with Catholike rites in* England, *amongst the ancient Kings the ancestors to both of them: so that at last her body may rest, which conioyned to her soule did neuer rest nor had quiet. The second was (forasmuch as she feared the secret villanie of many men) that she might not be put to death secretly, without the knowledge of Queene* ELIZABETH, *but in the presence of her seruants and others, who might beare true witnesse of her faith toward Christ, her obedience to the Church, and the end of her life, against the false rumours which her aduersaries might spreade and deuise. The third was, that her seruants might freely and peaceably depart, and might goe whither they would, and enioy the legacies she had bequeathed vnto them in her Testament. These things she requested very earnestly in the name of Iesus Christ, by the soule and memorie of* HENRY *the seuenth, progenitor to them both, by the royall honour that she had borne.* Then she complained, *that all royall furniture was violently taken away by the commandement of some of her Counsel-*

Counſellors, and forebodeth that their malice would breake out vnto greater matters. And addeth, *if they had ſhewen the letters and papers taken away without fraud and ſincerely, that it would haue plainly appeared, that there was no other cauſe of her death, than the too ſcrupulous care of ſome men of the ſecuritie of Queene* ELIZABETH. *Laſtly, ſhe earneſtly deſired her to write a few words with her owne hand concerning theſe matters.* But whether theſe letters came euer to the hands of Queene ELIZABETH, I cannot ſay.

But ſundry men talked in ſundry manners according to their ſundry wits, of this matter; not to ſpeake of the Clergie men of both ſides, who are for the moſt part vehement in their opinions.

There were ſome plaine and indifferent weighers of matters, who thought they dealt very rigorouſly with her, for that ſhe was a free and abſolute Princeſſe, aboue whom none had any authoritie but God alone, for that ſhe was ſo very neere of kinne vnto Queene ELIZABETH, who alſo had promiſed very liberally in the word of a Prince, vnto her driuen out of her Realme, as ſoone as ſhe was arriued in *England*, by *Henry Middlemore*, all humanitie, courteſie, and rights of hoſpitalitie; and yet on the other ſide had deteined her in priſon, and had violated the ſacred bonds of friendly familiaritie. That ſhe could be in no other eſtate than of one taken in the warre, and that all the meanes of getting ſafetie and libertie is lawfull to them that be taken in the warre. That ſhe could not offend in the caſe of treaſon, in that ſhe was no ſubiect, and the like hath no power ouer the like; and that thereupon the iudgement of the Emperour againſt *Robert* King of *Sicilie* was void and of none effect, for that he was not ſubiect vnto the Empire. That the Embaſſadors of Princes, if they ſhall conſpire againſt the King vnto whom they

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are ſent Embaſſadours, are not touched as Traytors, much leſſe the Princes themſelues. And that the Affect is not to be puniſhed, except the Effect follow. And it was neuer heard that a Prince was put to death by the hand of an executioner. Moreouer, that ſhee was condemned againſt the Law of God, the Ciuill Law of the *Romans*, and the Lawes of *England*; yea, againſt the firſt Statute of the Parlament in the XIII. yeere of Queene ELIZABETH her ſelfe, in the which it was enacted, *that none ſhould be arraigned for conſpiring againſt the Queenes life, but by the teſtimonie and oath of two lawfull witneſſes, to be brought forth face to face againſt the partie arraigned*: and in this iudgement no witneſſe was produced, but ſhee was oppreſſed and caſt by the teſtimonie of her Secretaries, who were abſent. Men alſo diſputed of both parts of the credit of ſeruants, men in priſon, and the teſtimonie of them of ones houſhold. And that word of the Emperour *Hadrian* was commended, *Credit is to be giuen vnto witneſſes, and not vnto teſtimonies.* Theſe men alſo to themſelues, or their aſſured friends, complained, that buſie fellowes were ſuborned, who by diſſimulation, counterfeit letters, and contriued deuices, had cunningly deceiued a woman eaſie to bee wronged, and greedie of libertie, ſpied out and preuented her purpoſes, and had drawne her into the worſer, which ſhe had neuer thought on, if ſhe had beene kept with fitting care, and ſuch like ſecret and craftie plotters ſent on purpoſe: That it is an ordinarie thing for Courtiers in all ages, to vrge and driue them that be hated, euen againſt their will, into the crime of Treaſon, and craftily to breed trouble vnto vnwarie Innocence that is once impriſoned.

There were others who thought ſhee was not a free and abſolute, but only a Titularie Queene, becauſe ſhee had made a Seſſion, and paſſed away her Kingdome to

her ſonne, and had ſubmitted her ſelfe vnto the protection of the Queene of *England*, when ſhee came firſt into *England*, and as by well doing ſhe had and enioyed the benefit of the Lawes; ſo in doing euill, ſhee might be ſubiect vnto the equitie of the ſame lawes, according vnto that ſaying of the Lawyers, *Hee that offendeth againſt the Law, deſerueth not the benefit of the Law.* Otherwiſe, the condition of a Forraine Prince, offending in the Realme of another Prince, ſhould be better than the condition of a King reigning well. They alſo thought her to be a Subiect, although not *Originary*, yet *Temporary*, for that two abſolute Kings (as concerning Royall authoritie) cannot be at one time in one Kingdome. That this is a receiued and ruled opinion of the Lawyers, *The King out of his Territorie* (except it be in a voyage of warre) *is a priuate man, and therefore can neither beſtow nor exerciſe any Regalities.* Moreouer, that ſhe hath loſt by her fault abſolute Gouernment, and that ſubiects euen in *their habitation or houſe* may commit treaſon. And as for kindred, there is no Alliance neerer vnto any one, than their Countrey, that is to be vnto vs another God, and our prime and deareſt Parent. And as for the promiſes of humanitie and courteous entertainment promiſed, that they be not priuileges to commit wicked facts afterwards without puniſhment. That promiſes are to be vnderſtood, *Things remaining in the ſame ſtate, and not changed.* He that hath committed a fault, deſerueth not to enioy the ſecuritie promiſed: And indeed that the law and right of a gueſt entertained are holy, but that the right of our Country is more ſacred: Princes doe neuer binde their owne hands, and that all are bound and obliged more ſtrongly vnto their Countrey, than to their owne promiſe.

And if ſhee were to be dealt withall, as with one taken in the war, they obiected, I know not out of what Author,

Author, *Thoſe captiues are only to be ſpared, from whom we doe not feare any vexation or trouble, and not any others.* That the equall hath power vpon the equall, as often as he doth ſubmit himſelfe vnto the iudgement of his equall, either expreſſedly in words, or couertly in contractation, or in offending within the iuriſdiction of his equall. That the *Pope* did adnull and abrogate the ſentence of the Emperour againſt *Robert* King of *Sicilia*, for that the fact was not committed in the Territorie of the Emperour, but in the Dominion of the *Pope*. That Ambaſſadors, becauſe of the neceſſitie of Ambaſſades, are fauoured and allowed to be inuiolate by the law of Nations, but not Kings practiſing in the Dominions of another King. Furthermore, that in treaſon the affect without the effect is to be puniſhed. And that to plot to kill the Prince, yea to know it, and to conceale the plot, is accounted treaſon. That many Kings haue beene condemned and put to death, namely, *Rheſcuporis* King of *Thracia*, by *Tyberius*, *Licinius* and *Maximianus*, by *Conſtantine* the Great, *Bernard* King of *Italy*, *Conradinus* King of *Sicily*, &c. Moreouer, which may ſtand in ſtead of all, That the ſafetie of the people is the chiefeſt law, and that no law is more ſacred than the ſafetie and welfare of the Common-wealth. That God himſelfe hath enacted this law, that all things that were for the good, profit, and benefit of the Common-wealth, ſhould be accounted lawfull and iuſt. Moreouer, that Secretaries were not to be reckoned amongſt bond-men, and that the teſtimonie of ones houſhold is to bee receiued about thoſe things which were done ſecretly at home. But it was argued more narrowly, whether accuſers voluntarily ſworne, and acceſſarie in criminall matters, are to be produced face to face, to defend and proue their accuſation. Laſtly, it was granted that there is no great example extant,

which hath not ſome iniquity therein. Theſe and ſuch like were debated and argued to and fro in euery mans mouth.

In the meane time the King of *Scotland*, ſo great was his pietie vnto his mother, laboured all that poſſibly he could by *William Keith*, neither did he omit any thing fit for a good and pious ſonne, and a moſt prudent King, but with no ſucceſſe at all, foraſmuch as the *Scots* were torne in pieces with factions amongſt themſelues, and more fauoured Queene ELIZABETH, than the captiue Queene, in ſo much that many of them did priuily ſolicite Queene ELIZABETH by their letters, to haſten her puniſhment; and the *Scottiſh* Miniſters being commanded by the King, to commend the ſafetie of his mother, vnto God, in their prayers, in all their Churches; ſuch was the hatred vnto the Religion ſhee profeſſed, that they obſtinatly refuſed ſo to do: yet he, as he had before, with often meſſengers, and almoſt continuall letters, made requeſt vnto the Queene. Now he plied her exceedingly, with more often and moſt vehement meſſages and letters: In which hee complained, *That it was moſt vniuſt and vnfit for the Nobilitie, Counſellors, and Subiects of* England, *to giue ſentence vpon a Queene of* Scotland, *and ſhee borne of the Royall bloud of* England, *and a thing no leſſe vniuſt, euen but to thinke that the Parlamentarie Eſtates of* England, *by their authority, had power to exclude the true and certaine Heires of their right of ſucceſſion and lawfull inheritance* (which many men now and then threatned to feare him.)

He ſent alſo *Patrike Gray*, and *Robert Meluin*, who ſignified to the Queene, *That he, for the great loue and familiaritie betweene them, cannot beleeue, but ſhe would conſerue her famous renowne, ſhe had acquired in euery place by her vertues, but eſpecially by her clemency, vnſpotted without all ſtaine of crueltie, and would not by any means defile and pol-*

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lute the ſame with the bloud of his mother, who was of the ſame Royall condition, of the ſame bloud, and of the ſame ſex, and the which he (for as much as the bloud of the mother did poſſeſſe in him a great reuerence) could not leaue vnto the tyrannie of them, who for a long time ſince haue thirſted for the deſtruction of him, as well as for his mothers deſtruction now.

In other letters, after he had at large diſcourſed, how he was grieued and tormented in minde, and diſtracted, concerning ſo great a matter that touched and bound him, both in reſpect of nature and honour, and into what danger and loſſe of credit he was caſt, if any violence was vſed vnto his mother, he out of his inward griefe and filiall affection propounded vnto Queene ELIZABETH, whereupon ſhee might ſtudie attentiuely. *How much it concerneth his Honour, who is both a King and her Sonne, if his moſt deare mother, and the ſame alſo an abſolute Prince, ſhould be put to an infamous death by her, who is moſt neerely ioyned by the bands of bloud and league. Whether by the law of God any thing may be done iuſtly by forme of law vnto them, whom Almightie God hath appointed the ſoueraigne Miniſters of Iuſtice, whom he hath called* Gods on the earth, *whom he hath anointed, and being anointed, forbade to be touched, will he ſuffer them to be violated without puniſhment? How prodigious a thing it is to ſubiect an abſolute Prince vnto the iudgement of Subiects; yea how monſtrous a thing it were, that an abſolute Prince ſhould giue firſt this pernicious example, to prophane their owne and other Princes Diadems? Moreouer, what ſhould vrge her vnto this ſeueritie,* Honour, *or* Profit? *If* Honour, *ſhe might acquire more honour by ſparing her, for ſo with the eternall praiſe of clemencie, ſhee might binde him and all the Princes of Chriſtendome with a benefit, whom otherwiſe ſhee could not but alienate with loſſe of her good report, and marke of crueltie. But if* Vtilitie *moued her, ſhe*

ſhe was to conſider whether any thing can be profitable, but that which is iuſt and honeſt. And ended beſeeching her, that his Ambaſſadors might bring backe ſuch an anſwer, that may be moſt worthy of a moſt pitifull Queene, and not vnworthy of the King and her moſt louing Couſin. But when as the Ambaſſadors out of ſeaſon mingled threats amongſt their requeſts, they were leſſe acceptable, and ſent away within few daies with very ſmall hope.

Pomponius Bellieurus, who was ſent by the *French* King for the ſame cauſe, when he was come vnto the Queene, hauing in his company *L'aubeſpineus* of *Caſtro Nouo*, the ordinary Ambaſſador, and had in few words ſignified, how the *French* King was diſtracted on this ſide, for his ſingular loue toward her, and on that ſide, for the ſtrait familiaritie and affinitie betweene him and the Queene of *Scotland*, he propounded in writing theſe things and the like, once or twice.

The moſt Chriſtian King of France, *and all other Kings are intereſſated, that a Queene, and free and abſolute Princeſſe be not put to death.*

The ſafetie of the Queene may be more endangered by the death, than by the life of MARY: *that ſhe being deliuered out of priſon, can attempt nothing againſt the Queene, for that ſhee was ſickly, and could not liue long.*

That ſhee challenged and claimed the Kingdome of England, *was not to be laid to her charge as a fault, but was to be aſcribed to the tenderneſſe of her age, and her naughtie counſellors.*

That ſhe came into England *to intreat helpe and fauour, and therefore the leſſe iuſtly detained, and that now at length ſhe was to be let looſe vpon ſome ranſome agreed vpon, or elſe to haue mercy vſed to her. Moreouer, that an abſolute Prince is not to be called in queſtion of his life, in ſo much that* Cicero *ſaid*, It is ſo vnuſuall for a King to be arraigned, that it is a thing neuer heard before this time.

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If ſhe be innocent, then ſhee is not to be put to death; if faultie, to be ſpared, for this would proue more to her honour and vtilitie, and it ſhould be the eternall example of the clemencie of England. *To this intent the hiſtorie of* Porſenna *was rehearſed, who pulled the hand of* Mutius Sceuola, *who had conſpired to kill him, out of the flames of fire, and diſmiſſed him.*

That the firſt precept of reigning well, is to ſpare bloud, that bloud calleth for bloud, that it cannot be otherwiſe thought but to be cruell and bloudie to vſe tyrannie toward her.

That the French *King will do all his labour, and vſe all diligence, that the attempts and endeuours of all that plot any thing againſt the Queene, may be repreſſed and ſtopped: And that the* Guiſes, *the kinſmen of the Queene of* Scotland, *would ſweare the ſame, and confirme it with their hands and ſeales, who, if ſhee be put to death, will take it in very euill part, and perhaps will not ſuffer it to be vnreuenged.*

Laſtly, they requeſted that ſhe ſhould not be vſed according to that rigorous and extraordinarie iudgement, if not, that the French *King could not but take it in very euill part, and be much offended, howſoeuer all other Princes may take it.*

Vnto theſe writings anſwer was made in the margin vnto euery article thus:

That the Queene of England *doth hope that the moſt Chriſtian King of* France *will haue no leſſe regard and reſpect vnto her, than vnto the* Scottiſh *Queene, who plotted to kill an innocent Prince, her next couſin, and the Kings confederate. And that it is behouefull vnto Kings and Common-wealths, that miſchieuous actions (ſpecially againſt Princes) be not left vnpaniſhed.*

That the Engliſh-men, *who acknowledge only Queene* ELIZABETH *to be Supreme Gouernour in* England, *cannot at once acknowledge two Soueraignes, free and abſolute Princeſſes in* England: *neither that any other whomſoeuer,*

ſoeuer, whileſt ſhe liued, was to be taken as equall with her. Neither could they ſee how the Scottiſh Queene and her ſonne that now reigneth, can be accounted at one time ſoueraigne and abſolute Princes.

Whether that the Queenes ſafetie may be expoſed vnto greater dangers, if ſhe be put to death, dependeth vpon contingencie and vncertaintie hereafter; that the Eſtates of England, who haue ſtudied ſeriouſly on this point, thinke otherwiſe, to wit, that there will neuer want occaſions of plotting miſchiefes during her life, eſpecially for that matters are now come to that paſſe, that there is no hope left for the other, except the other be extinguiſhed or taken away; and this ſentence may come often to minde, Either I her, or ſhee me. The ſhorter her life is, with the more ſpeed the conſpirators for this cauſe will accelerate and haſten the execution of her plots.

That ſhee would not hitherto renounce and giue ouer the right ſhee claimeth and challengeth vnto the Realme of England, and that for that cauſe ſhe hath beene moſt rightfully detained in priſon, and is ſtill to be detained (although ſhee came for ſuccour and helpe into England) vntill ſhee haue renounced and giuen ouer the ſame: And that ſhe ought to ſuſtaine puniſhment for the faults ſhe hath committed in priſon, for what cauſe ſoeuer ſhe was put into priſon.

That the Queene alſo hath pardoned her moſt mercifully, when ſhee was condemned by the conſent of all the Eſtates for the Rebellion raiſed in the North, to make the mariage betweene her and the Duke of Norfolke; and to ſpare her againe were a fond and cruell kinde of mercie. That none are ignorant of that ſaying of the Lawyers: An offender in the territory of another, and there found, is puniſhed in the place where the fault is committed, without any regard or reſpect of dignitie, honour, or priuilege. And that the ſame is euident as well by the lawes of England, as alſo by the examples of Licinius, Robert King of Sicilie,

Bernard

Bernard *King of* Italy, Conradinus, *of* Elizabeth *Queen of* Hungarie, *of* Ioan *Queene of* Naples, *and of* Deiotarus, *for whom* Cicero *pleading, ſaid it was not vniuſt* for the King to be arraigned, though it were vnuſuall. *For the words goe thus*; Quod primùm dico de capite fortuniſque Regis: Quod ipſum etſi non iniquum eſt, in tuo duntaxat periculo, tamen eſt ita inuſitatum, &c.

That ſhe who hath beene found guiltie by a lawfull iudgement, is to be put vnto execution, foraſmuch as that which is iuſt is honeſt, and that which is honeſt, is alſo profitable.

That the Hiſtory of Porſenna *did not agree vnto this matter propoſed, except one ſhould thinke that there is a long traine of them who ſeeke to hurt the Queene, and could perſwade her to diſmiſſe her without any hurt, out of feare, and ſome little reſpect of honour, but no regard of her owne ſafety: as* Porſenna *ſent* Mutius *away, when he had auowed that there were other three hundred who had conſpired to kill him. Moreouer, that* Mutius *ventured vpon* Porſenna *in a war proclaimed, and by the ſending of* Mutius *away, he perſwaded and aſſured himſelfe, that he had eſcaped all danger.*

Bloud is to be ſpared, that is, the innocent. *God commanded this: It is true, that* the voice of bloud crieth for bloud, *and that* France, *before the maſſacre of* Paris, *and afterward, can witneſſe this.*

That a puniſhment iuſtly inflicted, cannot be thought to be bloudie, no more than a medicine, prepared and made as it ought, fitly for the ſickneſſe, can be accounted violent.

Howſoeuer the Guiles, *couſins vnto the* Scottiſh *Queene, take it, the Queene hath more occaſion, and it concernes her more, to reſpect and regard rather the ſafetie and good of her Nobilitie and people, of whoſe loue ſhee wholly dependeth, than the diſpleaſure of any other whoſoeuer, and that matters were now come vnto that paſſe, that that old prouerbe of the two Princes,* Conradino *the* Sicilian, *and* Charles *of* Anjou, *may be vſed and truly ſaid of the two Queenes,*

THE DEATH OF MARIE, THE LIFE OF ELIZABETH, AND THE LIFE OF MARIE, DEATH OF ELIZABETH.

That the promiſes of the French *King, and of the* Guiſes, *cannot giue aſſurance of ſecuritie vnto the Queene and the Realme, much leſſe make amends for her death, if ſhe be made away.*

That the French *King cannot finde out the ſecret plots contriued againſt him at home, much leſſe againſt the Queen of* England. *For that treaſon is cloſely handled, and therefore ineuitable and vnauoidable. If the wicked fact be once done, what will it doe good to challenge their promiſe? How may the loſſe for the death of an incomparable Prince be repaired or recompenced, and what remedie may be found for the Republike giuing vp the ghoſt with her, in a moſt lamentable confuſion of all things?*

The hand-writings of the Guiſes, *who thinke it a meritorious act to diſpatch them who are enemies to the* Pope, *and may very eaſily obtaine and get diſpenſations for their oath, be of ſmall moment, or importance, or of none at all. And what* Engliſh *man is it that will accuſe them for killing the Queene* ELIZABETH *after her death, and after that the Queene of* Scotland *being of the Family of the* Guiſes, *is enſtalled in the Crowne of* England? *What? can one recall her backe vnto life thereby?*

But in that the Ambaſſadors haue called this iudgement rigorous and extraordinarie, *they haue ſaid it without due conſideration (for as much as they haue neither ſeene the proceſſe nor the probations) and haue too bitterly taxed the Eſtates of the Realme of* England, *men of great account, choſen for their nobilitie, vertue, prudence and pietie: yea moreouer, that they haue abſolutely ſpoken ſuch like words, as if they came from the* French *King, very inconſiderately, making ſhew that they would feare with their threats and menaces, the Queene, and the Eſtates of the Realme. That*

the

the English-*men are not accuſtomed to be terrified with threats of the* French-*men, from taking a courſe and meanes to eſtabliſh and ſettle their ſecuritie, for as much as they in the meane time did not ſhew nor demonſtrate any fit or conuenient way or meanes of auerting or putting away the inſtant and imminent dangers of* England.

But the malitious and ſpightful enemies of the Queen of *Scotland*, tooke occaſions all they could of haſtening her death, and cauſed (the more to affright Queene ELIZABETH, knowing well that in the greateſt danger of ſafetie, feare doth exclude all mercie) falſe rumours to be ſpread in euery place of *England* daily, with fearefull out-cries, *viz*. *That the* Spaniſh *Fleet were alreadie arriued in the Hauen of* Milford, *that the* Scots *had inuaded* England, *that the Duke of* Guiſe *was landed with a ſtrong armie in* Suſſex, *that the Qu. of* Scotland *was eſcaped out of priſon, and had leuied many ſouldiers, that the Northerne men were vp in rebellion, that there were other Ruffians, who had conſpired to kill the Queene, and to burne the Citie of* London, *yea and that the Queene was dead*, and other things of like kinde, which either craftie people or men afraid, vſe to faine in their owne conceits, or to increaſe out of an inbred deſire or humour, to nouriſh and vphold rumors; and Princes, who are vpon curioſitie credulous, take quickly hold of.

By ſuch like bugges and formidable arguments, the Queenes minde wauering, and in great care, was by them drawne ſo farre, that ſhee ſigned letters, by which the mortall ſentence of death was commanded to be put in execution, and one of the chiefeſt perſwader (as the *Scots* ſay) was *Patricke Gray*, a *Scot*, ſent by the King of *Scotland* to diſſwade the Queene from putting his mother to death, who oftentimes would beat into the Queenes eares that old word (*Dead men doe not bite.*)

But ſhe being by nature ſlow in her doings, began to ballance in her minde, whether it were better to take her out of the way, or to ſpare her. Not to put her to death, theſe things moued her: *Her inbred clemencie, leſt ſhe ſhould ſeeme to vſe crueltie againſt a woman, and ſhe a Princeſſe, and alſo her kinſwoman, feare of infamie with the poſteritie out of the hiſtories, and the dangers hanging thereon, as well from the King of* Scotland, *who ſhould then come a ſtep neerer vnto the hope of* England, *as from the Catholike Princes, and deſperate fellowes, who then would aduenture on any thing.*

But if ſhe ſpared her, ſhe fore-ſaw no leſſe dangers at hand. *That the Noblemen, who had giuen ſentence againſt the Queene of* Scotland, *would cloſely purchaſe fauour with her, and her ſonne, not without her danger, that the reſt of her ſubiects that were very carefull and deſirous of her ſafetie, would take it in euill part, when they ſaw themſelues to haue loſt their labour, and thenceforth would neglect her ſafetie; many more would ioyne themſelues vnto the profeſſion of the Papiſts, and conceiue greater hope, when they ſaw her conſerued, as it were, by the decree of heauen, vnto the hope of the kingdome; that the Ieſuits and Seminariſts, when they ſee her ſickly, and feare ſhee will not liue long, would beſtirre themſelues to accelerate the death of Queene* ELIZABETH, *that their Religion may be reſtored.*

The Courtiers alſo without any intermiſſion, ſuggeſted theſe things and the like. *Why doſt thou ſpare her that is faultie and iuſtly condemned, who ſubſcribed vnto the* Aſſociation *for thy ſafetie, yet forthwith reſolued to vſe crueltie againſt thee, being innocent, and by thy deſtruction, to tyrannize ouer Religion, the Nobilitie and Commons? That mercie is a royall vertue, but is not to be ſhewed to them that haue no mercie. Let the vaine and idle ſhew of mercie giue place, and yeeld vnto wholeſome ſeueritie. Your clemencie hath ſufficient cauſe of commendation in that it hath*

pardoned

pardoned her once before: to ſpare her againe, is no other thing but to pronounce her not guiltie, and to condemne the Eſtates of the Realme of iniuſtice; to encourage the hearts of her agents to haſten and accelerate the accompliſhment of their wicked deſignes, and to diſhearten the faithfull Subiects to conſerue the Common-wealth. Religion, the Common-wealth, thy owne incolumitie, the loue of thy Countrey, the oath of Aſſociation, *and the care of the Poſteritie, with conioyned prayers doe beſeech thee, that ſhe who ouerthroweth and ſubuerteth all theſe ſeuerall things, may with all ſpeed be rid and diſpatched out of the way; and if they cannot obtaine their requeſt at thy hands,* SAFETIE *it ſelfe cannot ſaue and preſerue this Common-wealth: and the Hiſtorians will publiſh to the ſucceeding age, that the moſt cleere ſhining daies of* England *vnder Queene* ELIZABETH, *ended in a loathſome euening, or rather into an eternall darke night. The poſteritie will finde lacke of our prudence, who (which thing doth accumulate our miſerie) could ſee our euils, and could not preuent them, and will impute the maſſe of our miſeries not ſo much to the malice of our aduerſaries, as to the careleſſe and ſlothfull negligence of theſe times. Let not the life of one* Scottiſh *woman preponderate and be of more weight with thee, than the vniuerſall ſafetie of* England. *Let there be no ſtay nor delay vſed in ſo great a matter, for that forbearance and delay procureth danger: neither let ſpace and time be giuen vnto theſe wicked plotters and contriuers of miſchiefe, who now will ſeeke their laſt ſuccour and helpe by bold and audacious aduentures, and beſides their impunitie, will hope for a reward for their miſchieuous action. He that doth not beware to auoid a danger as much as he can, doth tempt God more than truſt in God. All the dangers whatſoeuer hang ouer our heads from forraine Princes, by her death will be taken away, neither can they hurt* England, *but by her. What will and power ſoeuer the* Pope *hath to doe hurt, will ceaſe and come to nothing when ſhee*

ſhee is gone. The King of Spaine *hath no reaſon to be angry, for that he himſelfe, for his owne ſecurity, made away his only ſon* Charles, *and at this time doth lie in wait to take away the life of Don* Antonio *the* Portugal, *to ſerue his owne ambition. The* French *doth religiouſly obſerue and keepe the amitie with* England, *and it alſo much concerneth his good, that by the ſpeedie death of the* Scottiſh *Queene, the hopes of the* Guiſes, *who relying and truſting vpon the hoped and future power of their Kinſwoman, doe now more inſolently inſult ouer their King. The King of* Scotland, *both by naturall affection, and in reſpect of his honour, may indeed be grieued or diſquieted, yet in his wiſdome hee will expect rather to haue things long after with ſecuritie, than to haue things in ouer-much haſte with danger. And the nearer hee is to his chiefeſt hope, the further forraine Princes will hold off from ioyning to helpe him, for as much as it is familiar and ordinarie for them, by one meanes or other, to ſtop and hinder the increaſing power of another Prince at the beginning.*

They ſet before her eyes alſo domeſticall examples, (for as much as that which is done by example, deſerueth the more to be excuſed) *How the Kings of* England *carried themſelues toward their Couſins and* Competitours *for their owne ſecuritie; namely,* Henry *the firſt toward* Robert *his eldeſt brother,* Edward *the third, or rather his mother, toward* Edward *the ſecond,* Henry *the fourth toward* Richard *the ſecond,* Edward *the fourth toward* Henrie *the ſixt, and his ſonne* Edward *Prince of* Wales, *and toward his owne brother* George *Duke of* Clarence, Henry *the ſeueuth toward the Earle of* Warwick, *the young ſonne of the Duke of* Clarence, Henry *the eighth toward* De la Pole *Earle of* Suffolke, Margaret *Counteſſe of* Sarisburie, *and* Courteney *Marqueſſe of* Exceter; *who euery one for ſmaller matters, if the crimes be compared, were put to death and made away.* Neither did the Courtiers alone buzze theſe things into the Queens head, but alſo ſome

Preachers

Preachers very earneſtly, and many of the Cõmons alſo out of hope or fear, exerciſed the fantaſie of their brains and wits too ſaucily and malapertly in this Argument.

Amongſt theſe penſiue thoughts, which made the Queene ſo carefull and doubtfull, that ſhe delighted in ſolitarineſſe, and ſate without any cheere, and ſometimes without ſpeaking a word, and oftentimes ſighing, would mutter to her ſelfe, *Either beare it, or ſtrike home*; and out of ſome obſcure Embleme, *Kill, leſt thou be killed*; ſhee deliuered to *Dauiſon*, one of her Secretaries, letters ſigned with her hand, that a Mandate ſhould be made vnder the great Seale of *England*, for the putting of her vnto execution, which might be readie, if any danger were readie to fall, and commanded him not to communicate the matter to any man. But on the next day ſhe, whileſt feare did not allow her owne counſell, changing her minde, commanded *Dauiſon*, by *William Killigrew*, that the Mandate ſhould not be made vp. He forthwith came to the Queene, and told her that the Mandate was made and ſealed with the great Seale; She chafing, reproued him for making ſuch haſte; neuertheleſſe, he communicated the Mandate and buſineſſe vnto the Queenes Counſellors, and perſwadeth them, who quickly beleeued that which they deſired, that the Queene commanded that it ſhould be put in execution without delay: *Beale*, than whom there was none more euill affected vnto the Queene of *Scotland* for Religion, is ſent with one or two executioners and letters, in the which authoritie is giuen vnto the Earles of *Shrewsburie*, *Kent*, *Darby*, and *Cumberland*, with others, that ſhe ſhould be put to death, according to the Lawes, (vnknowing to the Queene) and although at that very time ſhee had ſignified vnto *Dauiſon*, that ſhee would take another way and courſe, about the Queene of *Scotland*, yet he did not call *Beale* backe.

As

As ſoone as the Earles came to *Fotheringhay*, they came to her, with *Amias Poulet* and *Drewgh Drury*, in whoſe cuſtodie ſhe was; and ſignified the cauſe of their comming, reading the Mandate, and in few words admoniſhed her to prepare her ſelfe vnto death, for that ſhee was to die the next day. Shee without feare, and with a ſetled minde, anſwered, *I did not thinke that Queene* ELIZABETH, *my ſiſter, would haue conſented vnto my death, for I am not ſubiect vnto your Law; but ſince it is otherwiſe, death ſhall be vnto me moſt welcome, neither is that ſoule worthy of the heauenly and euerlaſting ioyes, whoſe bodie cannot endure one blow of the hangman.* Shee requeſted that ſhe might conferre with her Almoner, her Confeſſor, and with *Meluin* her Steward. They in plaine termes denied her confeſſor to come vnto her; and the Earles commended the Biſhop or Deane of *Peterburgh* for to comfort her; whom when ſhee had reiected, the Earle of *Kent* being fiery hot in Religion, turned vnto her, and amongſt other words, broke out into theſe, *Thy life will be the deſtruction of our Religion, as on the other ſide, Thy death will be the life of the ſame.* Mention being made of *Babington*, ſhee conſtantly and vtterly denied that ſhee knew of his plots; left the reuenge vnto God. And being demanded of that which was done by *Nauus* and *Curlus*, ſhe asked if euer it was heard, that the ſeruants were ſuborned and admitted as witneſſes to the death of their Maſters. When the Earles were departed, ſhee commanded them to make haſte with her ſupper, that ſhee might ſet things better in order. She ſupped ſparingly and ſoberly, as her manner was, In ſupper time beholding her men and maid-ſeruants mourning and weeping, with an vndaunted minde ſhe bade them be of good cheere, and to abſtaine from ſorrow, but rather to reioyce, for that ſhee was to depart preſently out of an abyſſe of euill. And turning vnto

vnto *Burgon* her Phyſitian, asked him if he did not obſerue that the force of truth was great. *They ſaid I muſt die, for that I was of counſell to kill the Queene; neuertheleſſe, the Earle of* Kent *inſinuateth that there is no other cauſe of my death, but that they feare their Religion by reaſon of me. Neither is my offence againſt the Queene, but their feare they haue of me, hath haſtened and procured my death, whileſt many ſeeke priuately their owne ends and purpoſes vnder the borrowed cloake of Religion and the publike good.* Toward the end of ſupper ſhee drinketh vnto all her ſeruants, who pledged her on their knees in their order, mingling their teares with the wine, and asking pardon for the neglect of their dutie, as ſhe alſo of them. After ſupper ſhee read ouer her teſtament, readeth ouer the inuentory of her goods and mouables, and writ on them the names of them vnto whom ſhee appointed them: vnto ſome ſhe gaue money with her owne hand. Shee writeth vnto her Confeſſor, to pray vnto God for her, and alſo ſhe wrote letters of commendation vnto the *French* King, and vnto the Duke of *Guiſe*, for her ſeruants. Shee went to bed at her ordinary houre, and ſlept certaine houres; being awaked, ſhe ſpent the reſt of the night in prayers.

The fatall day beginning to breake (*viz.* the VI. Ides of February) ſhe apparelled her ſelfe neather and finer, as ſhee vſed to be on Feſtiuall daies, and calling her ſeruants together, read ouer her Will, and requeſted them to take in good part the legacies ſhe gaue, ſince that her abilitie was not to beſtow any more. And then ſetting her minde all vpon God, with all humility, in her Chappell, beſought him to giue her his grace and fauour, with ſighes, teares, and prayers, vntill the time that *Thomas Andrewes*, Sheriffe of the Shire, told her, that ſhee was to come forth. Shee came forth maieſtically, in ſtature, beautie and ſhew, with a cheerefull countenance,

matron-like apparell, and very modeſt, her head being couered with a linnen veile, and the ſame hanging very low, her beads hanging down at her girdle, and carying a *Crucifix* of Iuory in her hands. In the gallery the Earles and other Gentlemen receiued her, where *Meluin* her ſeruant on his knees, and with teares in his eies, lamented his fortune, that he ſhould carrie this heauie and ſad newes of the wofull death of his Ladie into *Scotland*. Shee comforting him, ſaid, *Doe not lament, but rather be glad, thou ſhalt ſtraight-waies ſee* MARY STVART *deliuered and freed from all cares. You may tell them that I die conſtant in my Religion, and firme in fidelitie toward* Scotland *and* France. *God forgiue them who haue thirſted for my bloud, as the Hart doth after the ſpring of water. Thou our God who art truth it ſelfe, and perfectly and thorowly doſt know the moſt ſecret corners of my heart, doſt know how much I deſire that the Realmes of* England *and* Scotland *might be vnited in one. Salute my ſonne, and certifie him, that I haue done nothing that may be preiudiciall vnto the Kingdome of* Scotland: *will him to keepe friendſhip with the Queene of* England; *and ſee that thou ſerue him faithfully.*

And then teares falling from her eies, ſhe bade *Meluin* farewell againe and againe. And turning to the Earles, ſhee requeſted *that her ſeruants might bee courteouſly vſed, and that they might enioy thoſe things which ſhe had bequeathed them, that they might ſtand by at her death, and be ſent into their Country with a ſafe-conduct.* They promiſed the former things, but the Earle of *Kent* ſhewed himſelfe ſtrange, fearing ſome ſuperſtition. Shee ſaid, *Feare not, theſe wretches deſire to giue mee their laſt farewell. I know my ſiſter* ELIZABETH *would not deny mee ſo ſmall a fauour, as to haue my maids to be preſent, if it be but for woman-hood ſake. I am moſt neere of kinne vnto her, I come from King* HENRY *the ſeuenth,*

ſeuenth, I am Queene Dowager of France, *and the anointed Queene of* Scotland.

When ſhee had ſaid thus, and turned away, ſhe was permitted to haue thoſe of her ſeruants preſent whom ſhee would name. Shee nominated *Meluin, Burgoine* her Phyſitian, the Apothecarie and Chirurgeon, and two maids, and others, of the which *Meluin* bore vp her traine. So, the Gentlemen, two Earles, and the Sheriffe of the Shire going before her, ſhe came to the ſcaffold, which was ſet vp in the vpper end of the Hall, in the which was a chaire, a cuſhion, a blocke, and all couered with blacke cloth. As ſoone as ſhe ſate downe, ſilence being made, *Beale* read the Commiſſion, and ſhee heard attentiuely, as if it had beene another matter. Then *Fletcher*, Deane of *Peterburgh*, began a tedious ſpeech vnto her of the condition of her life formerly paſt, and the preſent, and that to come. Once or twice ſhe interrupted his ſpeech, *and deſired him not to trouble her, and proteſted that ſhe was ſetled in the ancient Catholike Religion, and was readie to end her life in the ſame.* And when he perſwaded her earneſtly to doe true penance, and with a firme faith to put her hope in Chriſt; ſhee anſwered, *that ſhee was borne and bred, and would now end her life in that Religion.* And vnto the Earles, ſaying that they would pray for her, ſhe ſaid, *ſhe would giue them many thankes if they would pray with her, but I ſhould offend much, if I did communicate in prayer with you, who are of another profeſſion.* Then they bade the Deane to pray, and when the whole company there aſſembled prayed together, ſhee falling on her knees, carrying the *Crucifix* before him in her hands, together with her ſeruants, prayed in Latine out of the *Office of our Ladie.*

After the Deane had ended his prayers, ſhee in the Engliſh tongue commended vnto God the Church, her ſonne, and Queene ELIZABETH, and beſought

him to auert his indignation from this Iſle, and profeſſed that ſhee repoſed her hope in the bloud of Chriſt, (and lifted vp the *Crucifix*) and deſired all the company of heauen to make interceſſion vnto him for her; ſhe forgaue all her enemies, and kiſſing the *Crucifix*, and ſigning her ſelfe with the Croſſe, ſhee ſaid, *As thy armes, O Chriſt, were ſpread abroad on the Croſſe, ſo with the ſtretched out armes of thy mercy receiue me, and forgiue mee my ſinnes.* Then ſhee forgaue the Executioners, who asked pardon. And when her maids had taken off her vpper garments, ſhee haſtening them, they cried out amaine, ſhee kiſſing them, and ſigning them with the Croſſe, and ſmiling bade them farewell. Her face being couered with a linnen cloth, lying on the block, ſhe ſaid the Pſalme, *In te Domine confido, ne confundar in æternum.* Then as ſhe ſtretched out her bodie, and oftentimes repeated, *In manus tuas Domine commendo ſpiritum meum*, her head was cut off at two blowes. The Deane ſaying aloud, *So let the enemies of Queene* ELIZABETH *periſh*, the Earle of *Kent* ſaying the ſame, and the multitude ſighing and grieuing thereat. Her bodie was embawmed, and was after buried like a Prince in the Cathedrall Church of *Peterburgh*. And her funerals were kept moſt magnificently at *Paris*, at the charges of the *Guiſes*, who performed all the beſt offices of kindred for their Couſin, both aliue and dead, to their great commendation.

In this lamentable manner ended her life MARIE Queene of *Scotland*, the great grand-daughter of *Henry* the ſeuenth, by his eldeſt daughter, in the XLVI. yeere of her age, and the XVIII. yeere of her captiuitie. A woman moſt conſtant in her Religion, adorned with a wonderfull pietie toward God, wiſdome aboue her ſex, and was alſo very faire and beautifull: And is to be accounted one of thoſe Princes, whoſe felicitie was changed

changed into aduerſitie. In her infancie ſhee was with ſtrife deſired for wife, by King *Henry* the eighth of *England*, for his ſonne *Edward*, and by *Henry* the ſecond, King of *France*, for *Francis* the *Dolphin*. At the age of fiue yeeres ſhe was carried into *France*, and at the age of fifteene yeeres married vnto the *Dolphin*. Shee flouriſhed, and was Queene of *France* one yeere and foure moneths. Her husband being dead, ſhe returned into *Scotland*, and was maried againe vnto *Henry Stuart* Lord *Darley*, and had by him IAMES, the firſt Monarch of Great *Britaine*: Toſſed and turmoiled by *Murrey*, her baſtard brother, and other her vngrate and ambitious ſubiects, depoſed from her Kingdome, and driuen to flie into *England*, and circumuented and entrapped (as men ſpeaking indifferently thinke) by ſundry *Engliſh-men*, carefull of the conſeruation of their Religion, and of the ſafetie of Queene ELIZABETH, and thruſt forward by others, deſiring much to reſtore the *Roman* Religion: and oppreſſed by the teſtimonies of her Secretaries who were abſent, and (as it ſeemed) corrupted with rewards. Neere to the graue, an Epitaph in the Latine tongue was affixed, and forthwith taken away.

MARIA

MARIA SCOTORVM REGINA, REGIS FILIA, REGIS GALLORVM VIDVA, REGINÆ ANGLIÆ AGNATA, ET HÆRES PROXIMA, VIRTVTIBVS REGIIS ET ANIMO REGIO ORNATA, IVRE REGIO, FRVSTRA SÆPIVS IMPLORATO, BARBARA ET TYRANNICA CRVDELITATE, ORNAMENTVM NOSTRI SECVLI, ET LVMEN VERE REGIVM EXTINGVITVR: EODEMQVE NEFARIO IVDICIO ET MARIA SCOTORVM REGINA MORTE NATVRALI, ET OMNES SVPERSTITES REGES, PLEBEII FACTI, MORTE CIVILI MVLCTANTVR. NOVVM ET INAVDITVM TVMVLI GENVS, IN QVO CVM VIVIS MORTVI INCLVDVNTVR, HIC EXTAT: CVM SACRIS ENIM DIVÆ MARIÆ CINERIBVS OMNIVM REGVM ATQVE PRINCIPVM VIOLATAM, ATQVE PROSTRATAM MAIESTATEM HIC IACERE SCITO; ET QVIA TACITVM REGALE SATIS SVPERQVE REGES SVI OFFICII MONET, PLVRA NON ADDO VIATOR.

Which may be Engliſhed thus:

MARY Queene of *Scotland*, daughter of a King, widow of the King of *France*, kinſwoman and next heire to the Queene of *England*, adorned with Royall Vertues, and a princely ſpirit, hauing often, but in vaine, implored the right of a Prince; the ornament of our age, and the true princely light is extinguiſhed by a barbarous and tyrannical crueltie. And by the ſame wicked iudgement, both MARY Queen of *Scotland* is puniſhed with a naturall death, and all Kings liuing are made common perſons, and puniſhed and made liable vnto a ciuill death. A ſtrange and vnheard kinde of grant is here extant, in which the liuing are included with the dead, for with the aſhes of this bleſſed MARY, know thou that the Maieſtie of all Kings and Princes lye here depreſſed and violated; and becauſe the Regall ſecret doth ſufficiently admoniſh Kings of their dutie, O Traueller I ſay no more.

Out

Out of this lamentable fortune of ſo great a Prince, the diſpoſition of the diuine prouidence moſt euidently appeared (as ſome wiſe men haue obſerued.) For thoſe things which the Queenes, ELIZABETH and MARY, chiefly wiſhed and ſtudied to procure, by this meanes came to paſſe. Queene MARY (which alſo ſhee ſaid at her death) deſired nothing more earneſtly, than that the diuided Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland* might be vnited in the perſon of her deare ſonne. And the other wiſhed for nothing more, than that the Religion by her eſtabliſhed in *England*, might be kept and conſerued, with the ſafetie and ſecuritie of the people. And that almightie God did heare their praiers, *England* to her vnexpected felicitie doth now ſee, and with great ioy acknowledge.

As ſoone as word was brought to Queene ELIZABETH, that the Queene of *Scotland* was put to death, ſhee not thinking thereof, ſhe heard it with great indignation, ſhee looked heauily and could not ſpeake a word, and readie to ſwound for ſorrow, in ſo much that ſhe put on mourning apparell, and grieued exceedingly, and lamented very much. Shee cauſed her Counſellors (being reproued and forbidden her preſence) to be examined, and commanded *Dauiſon* to be brought into the *Star-Chamber*. And as ſoone as her dolour would permit her, ſhe in great haſte wrote this letter following vnto the King of *Scotland* with her owne hand, and ſent it by Mr. *Robert Cary*, one of the Lord of *Hunſdons* ſonnes.

Deare brother, I would to God you did know, but not feele, with what incomparable griefe my minde is tormented and vexed, by reaſon of the lamentable euent which hath befallen contrary to my minde and will, which you ſhall vnderſtand fully by my Couſin; for as much as I cannot abide and endure to ſet it downe by writing. I beſeech you, that as God and

and many others can beare witneſſe vnto my innocencie in this matter, ſo I deſire you to beleeue, that if I had commanded it, I would neuer haue denied the ſame. I am not of that baſe minde, that for any terrour, I ſhould feare to doe that which is iuſt, or to deny it, being done. I doe not ſo degenerate from my Anceſtors, nor am I of ſuch an ignoble minde. But as it is not the part of a Prince to couer and cloake the ſenſe of his minde with words, ſo will I neuer diſſemble nor gloſe mine actions; but I will performe that they ſhall come to light, and appeare to the world in their colours. I would haue you be aſſuredly perſwaded, that as I know that this was done vpon deſert, ſo if I had imagined it, I would not haue put it ouer vpon any other, neither yet wil I impute that to my ſelfe, which I did not ſo much as thinke. He who ſhall deliuer you theſe Letters, ſhall acquaint and impart other things vnto you. As for me, I would haue you to beleeue, that there is none other who loueth you better, and beareth better affection to you, or that will haue a more friendly care of you and your affaires. If any one ſuggeſteth, or putteth other things into your head, I would haue you to think that he beareth more good will and affection to others, than to you. God Almightie keepe you in health, and preſerue you alwaies.

In the meane time that Mr. *Cary* was in his iourney with theſe Letters, *Dauiſon* was brought into the *Star-Chamber*, before the Commiſſioners appointed, *viz. Chriſtopher Wray*, Lord Chiefe Iuſtice of the Kings Bench, made for that time Lord Keeper of the Priuie Seale, the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *Yorke*, the Earles of *Worceſter*, *Cumberland*, and *Lincolne*, the Lords *Gray*, and *Lumley*; *Iames Croft*, Knight, Controller of the Queenes Houſe, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Maſter of the Rolles, *Edmund Anderſon*, Lord Chiefe Iuſtice of the Common Pleas, and *Roger Manwood*, Lord Chiefe Baron of the

Exchequer. Before theſe Commiſſioners, *Popham*, the Queenes Atturney, charged *Dauiſon* with contempt againſt her Maieſtie, violation of his faith, and neglect of his dutie; that whereas the Queene out of her inbred clemencie, would not haue the Queene of *Scotland*, though condemned, to be put vnto death, for cauſes knowne to her ſelfe, and not to be ſearched and pried into by others, could not be brought thereunto, neither by the Eſtates of the Kingdom, nor by her Counſellors earneſtly vrging her thereunto; neuertheleſſe, had commanded a *Mandate* to be made for her execution, to preuent dangers that might enſue, and had committed it vnto the fidelitie and ſecrecie of *Dauiſon*; He being her ſworne Secretarie, forgetting his truſt and dutie, and in contempt of her Maieſtie, contrary vnto which the Queene had commanded, had imparted it vnto the Counſellors, and put it in execution, ſhe being vtterly ignorant thereof.

Dauiſon with great modeſtie, and quietly, yet with a good courage anſwered, *That he was ſorie, that in a moſt iuſt cauſe of the Queene of* Scotland, *and moſt weightie iudgement againſt her, if euer there was any, that he ſhould trouble againe the Commiſsioners, if not with the loſſe, yet at the leaſt with the impairing of his reputation, which hee eſteemed aboue all other things: but he was moſt aggreeued that he was charged to haue offended moſt contemptuouſly againſt her Maieſtie, who the more ſhee had beene bountifull to him, and he more bound for her bountie, his offence might ſeeme more hainous. If he ſhould acknowledge himſelfe guiltie of the crimes obiected, he ſhould wrong his credit, which was dearer vnto him than his life. If he ſhould conteſt in his owne defence with the Queene, he ſhould doe a thing vnworthy of the obedience of a ſubiect, the dutie of a ſeruant, and the fidelitie of a Secretary.* He proteſted before God and the Commiſſioners, *That wittingly or willingly hee had*

had done nothing in this thing, but that which hee was perſwaded in his conſcience the Queene willed: In the which, if he had carried himſelfe to doe any hurt, either by vnskilfulneſſe, or by negligence, he could not chooſe but be grieuouſly ſorie, and vndergoe willingly the cenſure of the Commiſſioners.

As concerning particulars: when the Queene reproued him that he had ſealed the *Mandatum* with the great Seale in ſuch great haſte; he affirmed, *That ſhee inſinuated, but did not expreſly bid him to keepe it to himſelfe. Neither did he thinke that he committed any fault againſt the truſt of ſilence put on him, ſince he neuer ſpake word of this matter, but vnto the Priuie Counſellors.* Vnto that he did not call backe the *Mandatum*, after that the Queene had ſignified vnto him, that ſhee had changed her minde, he affirmed, *That it was agreed that it ſhould be ſent forthwith, and execution done, leſt the Common-wealth or the Queene might take ſome harme.*

Hereupon *Egerton*, the Solicitor, began to preſſe *Dauiſon* out of his owne confeſſion, reading a peece thereof; but he requeſted him to reade it all, and not this peece and that peece; but yet hee had rather it ſhould not be read at all, for that therein ſome ſecrets not to be vttered were contained; and now and then interrupting him, he ſaid, *That as he would not conteſt with the Queene, ſo he could not endure that his modeſtie ſhould be any detriment vnto the truth and his integritie.* *Gaudy* and *Puckering*, Sergeants at Law, reproued him ſharply with many words, that craftily hee abuſed the wiſdome of the Counſellors, and that out of the confeſſion of *Burghley* the Treaſurer, vnto whom doubting whether the Queene had aſſuredly determined of the execution to be done, he affirmed it very earneſtly, as he did alſo vnto the reſt, who ſet their hands vnto the letters of the manner of the execution. *Dauiſon* with teares in his

eyes, required the Lawyers not to preſſe him ſo vehemently: And wiſhed them *to remember that he would not conteſt with the Queene, vnto whoſe conſcience, and vnto the cenſure of the Commiſſioners hee committed himſelfe wholly.*

To conclude, by the generall cenſure of them, hee was fined at ten thouſand pound, and impriſonment at the Queenes pleaſure.

Dauiſon beſought the Commiſſioners to make interceſſion vnto the Queene for him, *not for the honourable place of Secretary, which he had, or his libertie, or for the diminiſhing of the fine impoſed, but that he might be reſtored vnto her fauour*, which yet hee neuer recouered, though ſhe oftentimes releeued his wants. So *Dauiſon* an honeſt man without policie, and not skilfull in affaires of State, was brought, as moſt men thought, vpon the Stage amongſt the Stateſmen, to play his part a while in this Tragedie, and ſtraight had his diſguiſe pulled off, and as if he had failed in the laſt Act, thruſt from off the ſtage, and kept long in priſon, but not without the commiſeration of many. Now I haue told what was publikely done againſt *Dauiſon*; but how he excuſed himſelfe priuately, take briefly out of his credit, and his Apologeticall Narration vnto *Walſingham.*

He ſaith, *after the departure of the* French *and* Scottiſh *Ambaſſadors, the Queene of her owne minde commanded me to ſhew vnto her the* Mandate *of the execution of the ſentence againſt the Queene of* Scotland. *And it being ſhewen, ſhee willingly ſigned with her hand, and commanded it, being thus ſigned, to be ſealed with the Great Seale of* England, *and ieſting, ſaid, Signifie this thing vnto* Walſingham, *who was ſicke, yet I feare much that he will die for ſorrow thereof. Moreouer, ſhe ſaid that the cauſes of the delaying thereof, were, leſt ſhe ſhould ſeeme to be thought to be drawn thereunto vpon violence or malice, when yet ſhe knew that it was*

very

very neceſſarie. Moreouer, ſhe blamed Powlet and Drury that they had not freed her of this care, and wiſhed that Walſingham would trie their mindes in this matter. On the next day, when it was ſealed with the Great Seale, ſhee commanded by Killegrew that it ſhould not be done; and when I had told her it was alreadie done, ſhee reprehended ſo much haſte, inſinuating that ſome wiſe men thought another way might be taken. I anſwered that the courſe which was moſt iuſt, was alwaies the beſt and moſt ſafe. But fearing ſhee would lay the fault vpon me (as ſhe laid the death of the Duke of Norfolke vpon Burghley) I communicated all the matter vnto Hatton, proteſting that I would not thruſt my ſelfe into ſo great a buſineſſe; he preſently imparted it vnto Burleigh, Burleigh vnto the reſt of the Counſellors, who all gaue their conſent to the quicke diſpatch of the execution; and euery one vowed to ſtand to it, and to ſticke one to another: and ſent Beale with the Mandate and Letters. The third day after, when I perceiued that her minde wauered, hearing her tell a dreame of the death of the Queen of Scotland, I asked if ſhe had changed her minde; ſhe ſaid no, but, ſaid ſhee, another way might haue beene inuented: and withall asked if any anſwer were come from Powlet. And when I had ſhewed his letters, wherein, in plaine termes, he refuſed to take vpon him that which was neither honourable nor iuſt; ſhe chafing, ſaid, that he and others, who had taken the oath of the Aſſociation, were periured and forſworne men, as they who had promiſed many things, but would performe nothing. But I ſhewed her how vniuſt and infamous this would be, and into what danger ſhee brought Powlet and Drury. For if ſhee approued and allowed the fact, ſhee ſhould draw to her ſelfe both danger and diſhonour with the note of iniuſtice; but if ſhee diſauowed and diſallowed the fact, ſhee ouerthrew vtterly thoſe well deſeruing men and their poſteritie. And afterward ſhee, on the ſame day the Queene of Scotland was put to death,

ſlightly checked mee, that the execution was not done.

What griefe and anger ſoeuer Queen ELIZABETH conceiued, or made ſhew of, for the death of the Queen of *Scotland*, I am ſure the King of *Scotland*, her only ſon, tooke it wonderfull heauily, who with the moſt admirable pietie that could bee in a ſonne, reuerenced his moſt deare mother, and mourned and lamented for her exceedingly. For he did not thinke that Queene ELIZABETH, in regard of the *mutuall loue that was betweene them*, and the league of ſtricter friendſhip lately made betweene them, neglecting the ſo many interceſſions of Princes, would haue deliuered his mother, a Prince of equall eſtate, and her neereſt couſin of the Royall bloud, into the hands of a baſe hangman. He ſuffered not Mr. *Robert Cary*, ſonne to the Lord *Hunſdon* (who was ſent from *England* to excuſe the Queene, by laying the fault vpon her Counſellors and *Dauiſon*) to come into *Scotland*, and hardly would heare him by another man, and with much ſuit receiued the letters he brought: Called his Ambaſſadour out of *England*, and threatned reuenge. And ſome there were that perſwaded him that other Princes of Chriſtendome would not let ſuch an iniury done vnto the Maieſtie and Royall name of a King, goe vnpuniſhed.

The Eſtates of *Scotland* who were aſſembled in great number, profeſſed that they were moſt readie to reuenge the death of his mother, and to defend his right to the Crowne of *England*, yea and to ſpend their liues and goods in the quarrell, and that they could not diſgeſt the iniurie done, not onely vnto the King, but alſo vnto the whole Nation of the *Scots*.

Some there were who perſwaded the King to require aid of ſhips, and of a Nauie of the King of *Denmarke*,

marke, vnto whoſe daughter he began then to ſue for mariage.

Some who were addicted to the *Romane* Religion, ſuggeſted vnto him, that hee ſhould rather ioyne with the Kings of *Spaine* and *France*, and with the *Pope*, and ſo hee might with eaſe get the poſſeſſion of *England*. And aboue all things to giue no credit vnto the Proteſtants of *England*, who now ruled all, and cloſely plotted to deſtroy him alſo: whiſpering this in his eares, *He that hath killed the mother, will alſo kill the children if he can.*

Some there were who ſecretly aduiſed him to keepe himſelfe as Newter openly, and to hold both the Proteſtants and Romaniſts in ſuſpence. For if that hee ſhewed himſelfe openly for the Proteſtants, the Romaniſts of *Europe* will lay all their plots againſt him, and would ſet vp another prop and ſtay in *England* to his great danger.

Some alſo there were who aduiſed him to keepe a firme peace with *England*, and not to put his certaine hope vpon the vncertaine fortune of warre. And to be conſtant in his Religion, in the which if hee once wauered, he ſhould neither get nor purchaſe friends, nor leſſen, nor diminiſh his enemies. Thus euery man as their fancie gaue, or their profit lead them, ſpake. But the King being more prouident, and more wittie than his age gaue him, vſed no haſte, which is alwaies blinde, but weighed their counſels in his minde conſiderately and maturely a long time, both with himſelfe and a very few others.

But Queene ELIZABETH by laying all the fault on *Dauiſon*, and the raſh credulitie of her Counſellors, ſo to mitigate his griefe and ſorrow by little and little, leſt the comfort giuen out of ſeaſon, might more exaſperate him, and ſo ſtayed vntill his ſorrow leſſened by

by length of time, would ſuffer it ſelfe to be handled. But when ſhee ſaw the *French* egge on the King to reuenge, ſhe fearing leſt he by their policies, and vpon a burning heat of reuenge, ſhould be drawne away from the Religion of the Proteſtants, and the friendſhip of the *Engliſh*, ſhe laboured with all her power to pacifie his minde, exulcerated, and in a manner alienated from her, by all meanes not vnworthy of a Prince.

Therefore by her Meſſengers and Agents, and after by the Lord *Hunſdon*, Gouernour of *Berwicke*, ſhe propoſeth theſe weightie and important Reaſons moſt diligently. *Firſt, what a dangerous thing it may be for him to breake into open warre againſt* England *for this cauſe, which ſeemed vnto the Eſtates of* England *to be as well neceſſarie for the ſafetie of the whole Iſland, as alſo moſt iuſt. Then let him conſider if he be of abilitie to take ſuch a warre in hand, for as much as* England *was neuer better furniſhed with Military men and Leaders, with forces and riches; and* Scotland *exhauſted with inteſtine warres, neuer more weake. If he depended vpon forraine aid, with what great difficultie, and how long it would be ere hee can get it; and if he doe obtaine it, what ſucceſſe can hee hope for, ſince that* England *hauing the Fleets of* Holland *and* Zealand *ioyned thereunto, hath no cauſe to feare the moſt mightie and potent Kings of* Europe? *What hope can he place in the* French *King, or the King of* Spaine? *For as much as his power much increaſed and augmented by the acceſſion and addition of* England, *may croſſe or empeach their deſignes and purpoſes, for that his Religion may be ſo oppoſed vnto their profeſſion, that they cannot helpe and aid him, but with their owne loſſe and detriment. Neither can the* French *King ſee with a contented minde, the King of* Scotland *to be augmented with the Kingdome of* England, *for feare leſt hee ſhould with warre proſecute the ancient right of the* Engliſh-men *in* France, *or elſe giue helpe or*

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ſuccour vnto the Guiſes, *his Couſins, who at this time gape after the Realme of* France. *But the King of* Spaine *without all doubt will doe all things to ſerue his ambitious humour, for as much as he vaunteth himſelfe to be the firſt Catholike Prince of the bloud Royall of* England, *and the ſtocke of* Lancaſter, *though vntruly. In reſpect of which, ſome Ieſuites and others alſo endeuoured to aduance him, whileſt the Queene of* Scotland *was yet liuing, vnto the Crowne of* England, *as a man moſt fit to reſtore the* Roman *authority in* England (*the mother and the ſonne being not reſpected nor regarded.*) *Moreouer, they perſwaded him, that ſhee determined in her laſt Will and Teſtament, to bequeath the Kingdome of* England *vnto this King of* Spaine, *if her ſonne continued in the Religion of the Proteſtants.*

What may be the meaning of theſe things, and whereunto they may tend, and what aid and helpe can be hoped for from the King of Spaine, *the King may thereby ſee and perceiue: And withall, if he ſhall reuolt and fall from his Religion, in the which he hath beene brought vp, with what great ignominie he may precipitate and caſt head-long his ſoule into eternall damnation, and the whole Iland of* Britaine *into danger and deſtruction. Moreouer, he is to conſider and be aduiſed, leſt the Eſtates of* England, *who haue giuen ſentence againſt his mother, doe not exclude him altogether from the right of Succeßion, by a new ſentence, whoſe loue, by yeelding and giuing place vnto neceßitie, and reſtraining the paßionate motions of his minde, he may eaſily winne and purchaſe vnto him, for as much as that which is done, cannot be vndone. And at his time he may poſſeſſe and enioy quietly the moſt flouriſhing Kingdome of* England. *In the meane time, he may enioy ſecuritie, and may ſeeme with all men, indifferent men, that haue vnderſtanding and conſideration of things, to haue receiued no blemiſh in his honour, for as much as when time was, he omitted no*

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part of a moſt pious and vertuous ſonne toward his mother. And let him aſſuredly perſwade himſelfe, that the Queene of England *would account and vſe him moſt louingly and affectionately, as if ſhee were his owne mother.*

Theſe things ſhee cauſed to be beaten into the head of the King of *Scotland*, and that he ſhould not doubt, but that his mother was put to death without her knowledge; and to confirme him in that opinion, ſhee determined to ſend vnto him the ſentence giuen againſt *Dauiſon* in the *Starre-chamber*, vnder the hands of all the Commiſſioners, and alſo vnder the Great Seale of *England*: And alſo another inſtrument (to pleaſe him the more) ſigned with the hands of all the Iudges of *England*, wherein they confirmed that the ſentence giuen againſt his mother, was no hurt vnto his right in Succeſſion, nor could be any preiudice vnto the ſame.

And thus an end of this Hiſtory.

FINIS.